

The IOSCS at Fifty¹

Albert PIETERSMA

INTRODUCTION

We are here today to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS). Although Leonard Greenspoon, being the ebullient person he is, was already fired up to celebrate last year, cooler heads prevailed to keep the cork on the bottle for another year. The better for the wine in any case!

At the outset let me make it clear that, since this is the fiftieth anniversary of the IOSCS as an organization, I will restrict myself to speaking of the birth of the IOSCS and of specific initiatives and achievements of this organization since its inception, in distinction from projects which, at some point in their development, were placed under IOSCS auspices or individual publications by its members. Moreover, I doubt very much that you would want to hear me hold forth for hours on end, even if I had the stamina to do so.

As the third and oldest surviving Past President of the IOSCS, I have the honor of having been invited to recall its birthday and its initiatives. I am sorry to say, however, that I was not personally present at the birth event of the IOSCS (I missed it by a year). That distinction belongs to Bob Kraft, the only one of our founding fathers still in the land of the living and also our one and only Honorary Member at Large—and may he be at large for a long time to come!

THE BIRTH OF THE IOSCS

I might just note the chronological order of events in 1968 and 1969, as I understand it, since some confusion has obviously arisen about our birth

¹ My thanks to Cameron Boyd-Taylor for “making me do it” and for convincing me long ago that a conventional lexicon of the Septuagint makes no lexicographical sense. See his, “The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography: Alice’s Reply to Humpty Dumpty,” *BIOSCS* 34 (2001): 47–80, here 53, 55, 73–74. A shorter version of my paper was presented at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the IOSCS in Denver CO on November 17, 2018.

year. Leonard thought it was 1967² and Bob Kraft thinks it is 1969. Split the difference, and we end up with the correct year! The first bulletin of the future IOSCS, compiled by Sidney Jellicoe, was circulated at his own expense in June of 1968, as a kind of trial balloon for an independent organization for Septuagint Studies. The response apparently exceeded expectations and in the summer of that year (1968) Professors Orlinsky and Fritsch, and Dean Jellicoe met with the President (James Muilenburg) and Executive Secretary (Robert W. Funk) of the Society of Biblical Literature to assign a session for Septuagint and Cognate Studies within the program of the Society's meetings at Berkeley, California, in December 1968, this session to be constituted as the inaugural session of the IOSCS. Then, in October 1969, Bulletin No. 2 of the IOSCS appeared, with Bulletin No. 1 on pp. 12–16. The two Bulletins together were printed courtesy of Bernard Scharfstein, Director of Scholarly Publications, KTAV Publishing House, New York.

Volumes 3–5 and 7 (1970–72 and 74) were printed as a service to scholarship, respectively by Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee; Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and, for the second time, KTAV Publishing House, New York. Volume 6 (1973) and 8–33 were produced in house by the respective editors of the Bulletin, as well as paid for and circulated by the IOSCS. Eisenbrauns Publishers took over with volume 34 (2001), and as of volume 50 (2017) the publishing of the Journal (JSCS) has been entrusted to Peeters Publishers, Leuven (Belgium), Paris (France), and Walpole, MA (USA).

The IOSCS's birth event itself took place on December 19, 1968 at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California. The meeting was chaired by a self-professed Irishman, called Harry M. O'rlinsky, better known as Harry M. Orlinsky, who, as many of you will remember, had clearly kissed the Blarney stone. He certainly had the gift of gab and an appetite for jest. Once when he came to the University of Toronto to give a lecture, John Wevers and I were dubbed the Toronto mafia. I'm not sure why, since both of us were/are Dutch Calvinists by background, but it may be that Harry somehow got his Hollanders—in one case a Frisian to boot—and Sicilians mixed up.

At the December 19 meeting, John William Wevers,—never to be called JW in his presence; at Princeton, where both taught, Bruce Metzger tried that once and was roguishly greeted with, Good morning, BM—moved a three part motion:

² See also John William Wevers in *JQR* 84 (1993): 378, though he has the correct date in *BIOSCS* 7 (1974): 1. Leonard no doubt calculated back from 2017 when the fiftieth issue of *JSCS/BIOSCS* appeared.

1. that the meeting constitute itself as an organizing meeting of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies;
2. that the following nominations be approved: President: Professor Harry M. Orlinsky; Secretary: Professor Charles T. Fritsch; Editor: Dean Sidney Jellicoe;
3. that the Executive Committee of the organization be appointed by the Chair.

The motion was passed, and the IOSCS was born. The Executive Committee, appointed by the Chair and approved by the IOSCS was composed of Matthew Black, Robert Hanhart, Robert Kraft, John Reumann, John Wevers, Joseph Ziegler, and Dominique Barthélemy. Finally, it was moved and passed that Professor Henry S. Gehman be made Honorary President of the IOSCS.

As a Canadian I might just note that three Canadians played a prominent role in the birth of the IOSCS: Harry M. Orlinsky, born and bred in Toronto, John William Wevers of the University of Toronto, and Sidney Jellicoe, Dean of Divinity at Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec, both naturalized Canadians. The design that still serves as the masthead of the (now) Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies we owe to Dean Jellicoe.

In terms of the *raison d'être* or mission statement of the IOSCS, I think I can do no better than to cite from the editorial of our first President, Professor Harry Orlinsky, in the second volume of the Bulletin, October 1969. Orlinsky wrote *inter alia*,

In this age of increasing specialization the critical study of the Septuagint in all its aspects requires special emphasis; at the same time it must not be forgotten that it is essentially in its usefulness for the correct understanding of the Hebrew text, and for the early history of its transmission, and even the reconstruction of original readings that the Septuagint is of primary value for the biblical scholar. In this respect, the study of the Septuagint may be associated with archeology, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the like, all of which can best be comprehended within their own context and *per se*, but which, at the same time, can all too easily become a sterile discipline if permitted to remain isolated from the larger context of biblical study.

The purpose of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies ... is to constitute a center of Septuagint and related research, and to help relate this to the textual criticism of the Bible as a whole. That is why we are happy and grateful to have been able to begin our activity as an independent group within the larger framework of the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature.... It is our hope to function thus in relation to similar learned meetings outside the American continent.³

³ H. M. Orlinsky, "A Message from the President," *Bulletin No. 2, October, 1969 of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*: 1.

So, what do we have here? Well, for one thing that, in the perception of our founding fathers, the time had come to give in to the pressures of specialization in order to help grow and mature our discipline. While Septuagint studies were carried on in several parts of the world, there was relatively little communication among the various centers of activity. In other words, what our discipline needed was a home of its own and a better means of communicating with those who lived afar. Its aim was to become an *international* organization and to constitute a “central center” for Septuagint studies. One aspect of being an international organization was that the IOSCS, on a regular basis, began meeting internationally with kindred organizations like the Society of Biblical Literature, which met internationally, and the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament.

On the structural side of the IOSCS we were a bit slower in the sense that it wasn’t until 1999, thirty-one years after the birth of the IOSCS, that a non-North American became President, namely, Johan Lust who broke the glass ceiling and was President of the IOSCS from 1999–2004. From that point onward we have alternated our Presidents and Vice-Presidents between North America and Europe, a step closer to being international, but not quite *international*. Similarly, be it noted that thus far the IOSCS has not had a female President. Last year, however, Alison Salvesen was elected Vice-President with a mission to shatter that glass ceiling too.

Allow me to recall my first attendance at an international meeting of the IOSCS in Uppsala, Sweden, 1971, together with the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament. From Dublin, Ireland, I flew to Göttingen, Germany, and from there I traveled, together with Robert Hanhart, John Wevers and David Gooding, by train and train ferry to Northern Germany, Denmark, and then from Helsingor to Hålsingborg, Sweden, on to Uppsala. At some point on our train ride, Hanhart, in typical Hanhartian fashion, raised a geographical question to which none of us had the answer. Trying to be helpful, David Gooding gave him his little pocket atlas, to which Hanhart replied laconically: Ja, das habe ich auch noch gewußt (grin). We had a stopover in Copenhagen, and arrived safely in Uppsala. What a trip! Furthermore, for the first time I met colleagues like Johan Lust, Raija Sollamo, Anneli Aejmelaus, Takamitsu Muraoka, Bob Kraft, Emanuel Tov, and many others. There is nothing like meeting a colleague face-to-face for the first time.

An issue larger than the gradual internationalization of the IOSCS, arising from Orlinsky’s editorial, is what he has to say about the subject matter of the newly independent discipline. Quite clearly, in Orlinsky’s mind and perhaps in the minds of our other founding fathers as well, the main, if not exclusive, focus is on the text-critical dimension of both the Hebrew Bible

and the Ur-Text of the Septuagint. Certainly, no surprise there, given the proximity of the discoveries in the Judean Desert to the birth of the IOSCS. What Orlinsky emphasizes is, of course, one of the two pillars—one might call this the Hebrew Bible pillar—of the modern discipline of Septuagint Studies, namely, the Septuagint as a repository of variants to the Hebrew Bible and its own pristine origins. The second pillar—one might call this the New Testament pillar—is the hermeneutics of the New Testament in light of the Septuagint, re-conceptualized as the Old Covenant foreshadowing the New Covenant, in other words the Septuagint as a freestanding entity. But more on this later.

IOSCS COMMUNICATIONS

With the birth of an international organization that had as its aim to operate and to communicate internationally, it stands to reason that new avenues were introduced. I have already noted the international meetings. The first communication tool was, of course, the IOSCS Bulletin, of which 43 volumes appeared until it graduated into a Journal, for a total of fifty volumes in 2017. The Bulletin had essentially a four-fold publishing function: 1) programs of meetings and minutes, 2) work published or in progress, 3) scholarly articles, and 4) miscellaneous news items.

The second IOSCS communication tool was the Septuagint and Cognate Studies series, the first volume of which appeared in 1972, edited by Bob Kraft.⁴ In 2017 the series counted 67 volumes, comprising a rich variety. Many of you, I know, have had your doctoral dissertations published in this series. Similarly, proceedings of many an international congress of the IOSCS have found a home there. And it includes as well all five fat tomes of John Wevers' Notes on the Greek Text of the Pentateuch, 3,395 pages in total. As his good friend, Martin Mulder, once quipped, "John writes more than God reads."

A third communication tool was the IOSCS homepage, set up, together with the homepage of NETS, in 1997, by Jay Treat. For twenty-two years now, Jay has managed and developed both sites into great places to visit and use. And all of that pro bono! Well done, thou good and faithful Dr. Treat!!

Had the IOSCS produced no more than the above, it would have been eminently worthwhile and a stellar reason for celebrating its birth. But there is more, much more.

⁴ Robert A. Kraft, ed., *Septuagintal Lexicography*, SBLSCS 1 (Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972).

IOSCS PROJECTS: THE LXX LEXICON

When Sidney Jellicoe penned his desiderata for the IOSCS, he focused on two projects specifically, 1) a bibliography and, 2) a lexicon. I begin with the bibliography. Extraordinarily, in five years Jellicoe's dream had been fulfilled. A 217-page bibliography, entitled, *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint*, compiled by Sebastian P. Brock, Charles T. Fritsch, and Sidney Jellicoe, was published by Brill in 1973.⁵ A successor volume followed in 1995, compiled by Cécile Dogniez, covering the years 1970–1993.⁶ Although welcomed by Septuagintalists, this volume was a private rather than an IOSCS initiative.

The second project sponsored by the IOSCS was the so-called Lexicon of the Septuagint. The lexicon, along with the bibliography, as noted, was already mentioned as a desideratum before the IOSCS itself had even seen the light of day, namely, by Sidney Jellicoe in what became Bulletin 1.⁷ As Jellicoe put it,

Two matters stand out as urgent desiderata, namely, (1) the publication of a bibliography ... and (2) an up-to-date lexicon, such as would take notice of the resources to hand since Schleusner.⁸

What underscores the importance attached by the IOSCS to Jellicoe's up-dated Schleusner is the fact that the first volume of the IOSCS-initiated series, "Septuagint and Cognate Studies," is entitled *Septuagintal Lexicography*, edited by Bob Kraft, who in his introduction observes that "various voices keep calling for such a project, but there is little unanimity ... about how it should be done."⁹

To make a long story shorter, discussions and deliberations about a lexicon for the LXX continued within the IOSCS for many years. In 1975, at the request of our President, J. W. Wevers, Emanuel Tov, editor designate of the lexicon, submitted a detailed report, published in the Bulletin of 1976, on the

⁵ S.P. Brock, C. T. Fritsch, S. Jellicoe, ed., *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973).

⁶ C. Dogniez, ed., *Bibliography of the Septuagint 1970–1993*, VTSup 60 (Leiden/ New York/ Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995).

⁷ Sidney Jellicoe, "Coordination Project for Septuagintal and Cognate Studies, Bulletin No.1, June, 1968" in *Bulletin No. 2, October, 1969 of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, 15.

⁸ Johann Friedrich Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in LXX* (Leipzig, 1820/1; Glasgow, 1822; London, 1829; Turnhout, Brepols, 1995). The full title of his work was: *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in lxx et reliquos interpretes graecos ac scriptores apocryphos veteris testamenti* (5 vols.).

⁹ Kraft, *Lexicography*, 5.

state of the question.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, Tov's report is judicious, especially when delineating the problematics of compiling a conventional lexicon of an unconventional corpus of literature. Let me pick out a few sentences from his report. Tov writes:

Equally difficult [as the absence of language informants] is the lexicographical description of a translation because the language of a translation is often unnatural. These two difficulties are combined in the lexicographical description of an ancient translation, in our case the LXX ... the lexicography of a translation aims at *recovering the meanings of the words in the translation which were intended by the translator(s)*.¹¹

In the same year, 1976, Tov published his "Three Dimensions of LXX Words."¹² Here too let me pick out a couple of specific items. Says Tov,

The examples establish beyond doubt the existence of at least two different levels (dimensions) of Biblical words, viz. the meaning of a Biblical word as intended by the translator ... and the different meanings which were applied to that word after the completion of the translation. To be sure, a similar distinction is made with regard to words in all texts which have been interpreted to such an extent.¹³ ...

In our analysis, a distinction was made between meanings of words intended by the translators and meanings attached to the same words after the completion of the translation.¹⁴

So, what Tov presents us with here is a distinction, or a dichotomy, between, on the one hand, the translator's meaning and, on the other hand, the meaning of subsequent readers; i.e. between, on the one hand, the translator's configuration of his translation and, on the other hand, the re-figuration of a subsequent reader. John Lee, for one, hailed Tov's distinction as "an important step forward."¹⁵ I would agree, but would note as well that it isn't just an *important* step but an *axiomatic* step, given that the distinction Tov makes is axiomatic in the historical study of all literature, of whatever description. Moreover, within our discipline it goes back at least as far as Martin

¹⁰ Emanuel Tov, "Some Thoughts on a Lexicon of the LXX," *BIOSCS* 9 (1976): 14–46. See the response by Moises Silva, "Describing Meaning in the LXX Lexicon," *BIOSCS* 11 (1978): 19–26. Be it noted, however, that Silva's critique does not include questioning the viability of a conventional lexicon of an unconventional corpus of (translated) literature.

¹¹ Tov, "Some Thoughts," 23.

¹² Emanuel Tov, "Three Dimensions of LXX Words," *Revue Biblique* 83 (1976): 529–544.

¹³ Tov, "Three Dimensions," 531. As I see it, Tov comes here tantalizingly close to the *axiomatic* distinction I advocate in the next paragraph.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 532.

¹⁵ J. A. L. Lee, "Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings in the LXX," *Revue Biblique* 87 (1980): 104–117, here 104.

Flashar's "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," published in 1912.¹⁶ Furthermore, James Barr, in response to David Hill's criticism of his book, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1968), wrote,

He [Hill] does not make the obvious and necessary distinction between two sets of mental processes, those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original. ...¹⁷

A similar distinction was made by Bob Kraft, at least as early as 1972¹⁸ and, lastly, Gideon Toury (1984), from the perspective of translation studies.¹⁹ Since in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established—and I have cited more than three already—I would declare Tov's distinction established. Be it noted at the same time, however, that, though Tov's distinction is axiomatic, it does not bring us face-to-face with the text as produced by the translator.

Two more crucial steps must be taken, the first of which has to do with the definition of a text. Following particularly in the footsteps of Roman Jakobson's "Linguistics and Poetics,"²⁰ Umberto Eco's *The Role of the Reader*,²¹ and Paul Ricoeur's "What Is a Text,"²² one might say that a text, or a *discourse put to paper*, has two predominant factors, namely, the addressor/speaker/writer factor and the addressee/hearer/reader factor.²³ Applying this to the text-as-produced and the text-as-received, i.e. the distinction we have affirmed above, it means that both texts have the same factors, with one crucial difference. While they share the same addressor/speaker/writer factor, they do *not* share the same addressee/hearer/reader factor. Whereas the text-as-produced by our translators has an *implied* or *prospective* addressee/hearer/reader, the text-as-received has an *exterior* addressee/hearer/reader. Needless to say, if the object of our research is the Septuagint-as-produced by the translator, our focus must surely be on the text-as-produced with its implied

¹⁶ Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 18-116, 161-189, 241-268., here 90 and 268.

¹⁷ James Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Biblica* 49 (1968): 377-387, here 379.

¹⁸ Kraft, "Approaches to Translation Greek Lexicography," in Kraft (ed.) 30-39, here 34.

¹⁹ Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1984) 14

²⁰ Roman Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in *Style and Language* (ed. T. A. Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960), 350-377.

²¹ Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader. Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

²² Paul Ricoeur, "What Is a Text," in *A Ricoeur Reader: Reflection & Imagination* (ed. M. J. Valdés. Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 43-64.

²³ See also Preamble 1.2.2: Guidelines of SBLCS, footnote 37 below.

or prospective addressee/hearer/reader factor, in distinction from the text-as-received with its exterior addressee/hearer/reader factor.

The third step to be taken is the most obvious, namely, to determine the constitutive character of the translated text, in other words, its linguistic make-up. Tov speaks of the “unnatural” Greek of the LXX *qua* translation. Others may call it “translationese” Greek,—whatever term one uses, the conclusion remains the same, namely, that the Greek of the LXX does not reflect the conventional usage of the Hellenistic period, nor does it represent a local dialect thereof. Instead, it simply reflects unconventional usage, due to linguistic interference from the source text into the target text.

Not surprisingly, in what I have read about the need for a lexicon of the LXX, the presupposition, from the outset, seems to have been that a conventional lexicon of the LXX, for example like Liddell-Scott-Jones, *can* indeed be compiled. The *only* serious question was, how to do it. The logic here seems to be that, if Schleusner could do it, in whatever fashion, so could the IOSCS, incorporating, as Jellicoe intoned, all the resources that have accumulated since Schleusner (1759–1831). Note as well, that, in Sidney Jellicoe’s listing of a lexicon as a high desideratum of the IOSCS, he speaks of “an up-to-date lexicon,” i.e. up-to-date from Schleusner. And that phrase “up-to-date” tends to repeat itself in the ensuing IOSCS discussion about a Septuagint lexicon. In that discussion Schleusner is obviously, if not the template, at least the justification for the belief that a conventional lexicon of the unconventional text-as-produced is viable. What interests me here is not what *sort* of lexicon Schleusner compiled, but rather of *which* Septuagint he compiled his lexicon. Schleusner was a Protestant theologian, and as is patently obvious from Schleusner’s full title, the Septuagint of his lexicon was the Septuagint of the early Christian Church, that is, its *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*. The problem is, of course, that the Septuagint of the early Christian Church was not the Septuagint of the translators, but instead part of its reception history. Consequently, a further question arises, namely, should Schleusner, in any way whatsoever, be taken as a precedent for a lexicon of the Septuagint, i.e. the original, Jewish, Septuagint? In other words, shouldn’t the fundamental question be whether, given the unconventional usage of Greek in the text-as-produced, a conventional lexicon of that text is viable or even possible?

The only possible answer to the above question would seem to be that it is *not* possible, for the simple reason that both lexica and grammars by definition record conventional usage of a language. Thus, if a given text or corpus of texts does not reflect conventional usage, it is not possible to compile either a conventional lexicon or a conventional grammar thereof—whatever else one may be able to do with it.

FROM LEXICON TO CATSS

I return to the lexicon as the seemingly second highest desideratum of the IOSCS for well over a decade from its birth. Of particular interest is an article by Bob Kraft and Emanuel Tov in the *Bulletin* of 1981, entitled, "Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies" (CATSS for short). The article first gives a brief history of the lexicon project since 1968 and then tails off into a new project, the aim of which is said to be the creating of,

a comprehensive and flexible computer 'data bank' available for efficient scholarly research on virtually all aspects of Septuagintal studies—text-critical, lexical, grammatical, conceptual, translational, bibliographical.²⁴

Thus, while the lexicon project continued in name, headed up since 1974 by Emanuel Tov, it now became part of a broader research endeavor, called "Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies." While the shift seems to have been to some extent a strategic move for funding purposes, the result was nevertheless that the lexicon project lost its preeminence among IOSCS-conceived research initiatives. As we now know, it never did see the light of day, and that for a very good reason, it would appear. Although I can only speculate on the reasons, in the final analysis, in my judgment, CATSS was a godsend. While a conventional lexicon for an unconventional text, i.e. the Septuagint as a *translation*, cannot be written for obvious reasons, this is not to say that progress cannot be made. First, thanks to Bob Kraft and Emanuel Tov, and their respective teams, for creating CATSS, the very tool that can be used to generate the lexicological aid that our discipline requires, and kudos to Emanuel for perhaps unintentionally pulling the plug on the IOSCS lexicon project. Second, given the unconventional nature of the text-as-produced, Septuagint lexicography of any kind begins with the Hebrew text,²⁵ not in order to superimpose the meaning of the source text on the target text, but to do a lexical comparison. As Martin Flashar suggested, more than a century ago, a translator's semantic intent may often be found where paired Hebrew - Greek lexemes intersect or overlap; hence the NETS principle of the source text as arbiter (not creator!) of meaning.²⁶ In short, since lexicography of the LXX can only begin with its vertical dimension rather

²⁴ Robert A. Kraft and Emanuel Tov, "Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 14 (1981): 22–33.

²⁵ Barr, "Common Sense," 379. See footnote 17 above.

²⁶ Flashar, "Exegetische Studien," 92. The point is that translational equivalence, without semantic institutionalization, does not create new meaning. See further the standard lexicographical distinction between sense and reference: whereas sense is entered into the lexicon, reference can only be exegeted in its specific context.

than its horizontal dimension, what is required is a Greek - Hebrew (Aramaic) annotated concordance of some description. Therefore, rather than taking Schleusner's lexicon (or Thackeray²⁷ and Helbing²⁸ for grammaticography) as a point of departure, the Hatch & Redpath²⁹ concordance would have been a much better, albeit inadequate as is, template. Yet for all that, it remains a puzzle why, given the early enthusiasm and reputed urgency for a so-called Septuagint lexicon, it was dropped, never to be brought to fruition. I would suggest—and, again, I can only speculate here—that part of the reason was a confusion of presumed readers, precipitated by the wrong model. As noted above, Schleusner was the incorrect model for a lexicon of the LXX of the translators. Secondly, in Tov's distinction between the text of the translators and subsequent readers, the implied or prospective reader of the translators' text was short circuited with the exterior reader of reception history, thus creating confusion on both sides. In other words, the text-as-produced and the text-as-received were effectively conflated, as were the event of production and the history of reception.

NETS AND THE COMMENTARY SERIES

I turn now to the fifth project(s) conceived and initiated by the IOSCS, namely, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) and the commentary series, *Society of Biblical Literature Commentary of the Septuagint* (SBLCS). Given the age of the popular Brenton translation (1844),³⁰ the IOSCS discussed, from time to time since its inception, the desirability of a "new Brenton." Nothing materialized, however, until the early 90s. At the Business Meeting of November 24, 1991,³¹ the President (Leonard Green-spoon) reminded us of our long-term interest in a new English translation of the Septuagint. More particularly, David Aiken of Uncial Books, Ada, Michigan, came with a proposal to publish. The Executive Committee decided

²⁷ H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, vol. 1 *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1909.

²⁸ R. Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX. Laut- und Wortlehre*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1907.

²⁹ E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal books)*, 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897.

³⁰ L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, According to the Vatican Text, Translated into English: with the Principal Various Readings of the Alexandrine Copy, and A Table of Comparative Chronology*, 2 vols. London: Bagster & Sons, 1844.

³¹ BIOSCS 25 (1992): 4 no. 9.

to extend the IOSCS's official backing for launching the translation project. Leonard Greenspoon, Robert Kraft, and Bernard Taylor were appointed as a steering committee.

Bulletin 27 (1994), under News and Notes, prints a document entitled, "New English Translation of the Septuagint, Statement of Principles."³² Unfortunately, the document is not signed, as a result of which I am not entirely certain who wrote it. It would seem, however, that the Translation Committee of the project consisted, in 1994, of the following individuals: Bob Kraft and Ben Wright (co-chairs), Leonard Greenspoon, Albert Pietersma, Moises Silva, and Bernard Taylor, with John Wevers as a consultant. Therefore, since Bob Kraft was the senior co-chair of the Translation Committee, in all likelihood it was Bob 'who done it'.

Since the two page document is too long to read here, let me pick out the relevant points: 1) the official name of the project: A New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS for short), 2) official sponsor: the IOSCS, 3) scope of texts: Rahlfs 1935, 4) translators to have native (or close to native) fluency in standard English, 5) use of best critical editions available, 7) English base text the NRSV, 8) target audience (similar to NRSV), 9) organizational structure, 10) advisory board of scholars.

Principle 6) deserves full reading,

NETS translators will seek to reflect the meaning of the Greek text in accordance with the ancient translator's perceived intent, and as occasioned by the ancient translator's linguistic approach, even when this policy results in an awkward English rendering.³³

What we have here is precisely what I noted above with respect to the IOSCS lexicon project, that is to say, the axiomatic distinction in the historical study of literature between, on the one hand, the event of production and, on the other hand, the history of reception. It is this distinction or dichotomy that is the essence of NETS. The problematics of a lexicon and a translation are largely the same, namely, what Septuagint is in view? Is it the original, Jewish Septuagint of the BCE era, or is it the Christian Septuagint of reception history of the CE era? As I see it, this cannot but be a question of either/or, not of both/and. Moreover, we should go one step farther. What is true for a *translation* of the Septuagint, a *lexicon* of the Septuagint, and a *commentary* on the Septuagint is also true for a *grammar* of the Septuagint. To conventionalize the unconventional is the simplest road to take, but as I have argued above, it isn't the right one. Moreover, the views of Charles Thomson and

³² BIOSCS 27 (1994): "New English Translation of the Septuagint," 15–17.

³³ *Op. cit.* 15.

Henry Gehman, both of whom conceptualized the Septuagint as a freestanding text, have been rejected by virtually all Septuagintalists.

In 1996 the Translation Manual for NETS was published by Uncial Books,³⁴ and in the spring of 1997 I took over from Bob Kraft, as co-chair with Ben Wright, of the translation committee. The translation of Psalms was published as a separate fascicle by Oxford University Press in 2000,³⁵ and the first edition of NETS as a whole appeared in 2007³⁶ with a second printing, including some corrections, in 2009. 2014 saw the most extensive update but was unfortunately limited to the digital version online. A comprehensive philological review of the translation, propaedeutic to a revised edition, is now in progress under the supervision of its erstwhile co-editors, Ben Wright and myself, joined by Cameron Boyd-Taylor. Not surprisingly, NETS principles can be better applied than they were in the first round and lexical consistency can also be enhanced. Moreover, a greater emphasis on the Greek text's mode of expression is warranted. Lastly and in retrospect, the first edition of NETS tends to suffer from too much linguistic reliance on the NRSV. After all, the *raison d'être* of NETS is quite distinct, as we now know better than ever before, from that of the NRSV.

A second, hermeneutical stage of NETS, also initiated by the IOSCS is the commentary series, SBLCS. Its editors are Cameron Boyd-Taylor and our new President of the IOSCS, Robert Hiebert. As intimated, the commentary is undergirded by the same principles and distinctions as NETS. That is to say, the Septuagint of the Jews in distinction from the Septuagint of the Christian church; the Septuagint as produced in distinction from the Septuagint as received; the Septuagint as configured in distinction from the Septuagint as refigured; the Septuagint as compositionally dependent on its source in distinction from the Septuagint as a semantically autonomous and free standing entity.³⁷

In conclusion, the central argument of my paper, namely, that a conventional lexicon of the Septuagint cannot be written, is based on three postulates/propositions(?): 1) that the distinction between text production and text reception is axiomatic for the historical study of literature; 2) that a text, or a discourse put to paper, has two predominant factors, namely, the addressor/

³⁴ Pietersma, *Translation Manual for "A New English Translation of the Septuagint"* (NETS) (Ada, Michigan: Uncial Books, 1996).

³⁵ Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint. The Psalms* (tr. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

³⁶ Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed., New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³⁷ For the full guidelines to SBLCS see www.twu.ca/SBLCS.

speaker/writer factor and the addressee/hearer/reader factor, and that the text-as-produced and the text-as-received differ in their addressee/hearer/reader factor; 3) that conventional lexica (and grammars) record conventional use of language, and that the base-line of the Septuagint qua translation is unconventional use of language.

The IOSCS has become far more significant than we might have imagined in the early days. This speech has only been able to touch on some of the many achievements of the organization and the way the field has grown over the years. IOSCS support for many new research endeavours secondarily placed under its aegis has enhanced its contribution to scholarship and the providing of tools for further research. As an organization the IOSCS has grown so that we now see far greater international cooperation and it has achieved its aim of bringing together disparate scholars and scholarship. While the specialization had led to the birth of the IOSCS, the size of the organization and the unprecedented attention given by scholars to Septuagint studies mean that it has not become an isolated and sterile specialty but instead a positive influence on biblical studies as a whole, having moved beyond the bounds of text-criticism to the hermeneutics of a translated text. It is hoped that the subject will continue to thrive for many more years to come. *Ad multos annos!*

ALBERT PIETERSMA

University of Toronto, Canada

albert.pietersma@sympatico.ca

A Brief History of Septuagint Studies in Australia

Trevor V. EVANS

The national histories that have begun to appear in recent editions of this journal demonstrate that in many parts of the world serious study on Septuagint themes is a new phenomenon, often pursued by individual researchers or small groups of scholars working in isolation. Perhaps nowhere is this more true than in the Australian context. The continent has a long human history, but European settlement and the intellectual pursuits it brought with it date from the establishment of a British colony at Sydney in 1788. The first university was founded, also at Sydney, only in 1850. Advanced Septuagint studies did not commence until the 1960s and have since been pursued by a small handful of scholars.¹ Nevertheless, they have developed along highly distinctive lines, especially in the case of the ‘Sydney School’ (see §3 below). They have also had a significant and increasing impact on the international stage, in particular through the work of two of the discipline’s leading figures of the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, John Lee and Takamitsu Muraoka. The following treatment offers an overview of the discipline in Australia. It aims to identify the major figures, centres, and research themes, the nature of the Australian contribution to the international discipline, and the future prospects for Septuagint studies in this country.

1. THE KEY FIGURE

To a large extent the vigour and special character of Septuagint studies in Australia can be attributed to the remarkable contributions of one scholar. John A. L. Lee trained in Classical Greek and Hebrew at the University of Sydney in the 1960s.² He was not the product of any Septuagint ‘school’

¹ No attempt is made here to list every Australian participant in the enterprise of LXX studies. To a large extent I have concentrated on the authors of monographs specifically focused on LXX topics, on the main themes of research, and on the centres in which they have particularly flourished. It is a pleasure to thank John Jarick, Geoff Jenkins, John Lee, Bill Loader, Takamitsu Muraoka, and Roger Scott for sharing their memories and for various other kinds of assistance.

² For a fuller account of John Lee’s career see J. K. Aitken and T. V. Evans, ‘John A. L. Lee: A Biographical Note and Academic Appreciation’, in J. K. Aitken and T. V. Evans (eds.),

and received no specific training in this sphere. His earliest research in fact focused on the language of Homer, but he soon turned to Koine Greek and specifically to the Septuagint. The major influence on this formative period was the great Australian Classicist G. P. Shipp, perhaps best known for his work on Homer, but a scholar of broad linguistic interests, who instilled in Lee an appreciation of the significance of documentary sources for evaluating the development of the Greek language in the post-Classical period.

Lee subsequently undertook doctoral research at the University of Cambridge, where he wrote a thesis on the vocabulary of the Greek Pentateuch, completed in 1970.³ His doctoral research was carried out, as it happened, during a lengthy hiatus in Septuagint specialisation in that institution. This was long after the heyday of Swete, Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray, and long before the current renaissance led by James Aitken. Lee discovered that his interests and objectives were little understood. He gained the greatest help not from the sphere of biblical studies, but from a Classicist, John Chadwick, one of the twentieth century's most influential researchers on ancient Greek and Latin lexicography.⁴ What came of his efforts was the work eventually published (unchanged from its 1970 form) in 1983 as *A Lexical Study of the LXX Version of the Pentateuch*.⁵ This was greeted with general acclaim as a landmark contribution to the discipline and fully established his reputation as a leading Septuagint lexicographer. It is worth noting, however, that his gifts in this sphere had already been announced by his very first publication, on the 1968 Supplement to Liddell and Scott, which appeared in *Glotta* in 1969.⁶ This 'short but seminal' article has been identified by the distinguished Canadian scholar Albert Pietersma as marking a new era in Septuagint studies.⁷ All the entries in the 1968 Supplement discussed in the *Glotta*

Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A. L. Lee (Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, Conn.: Peeters, 2015), 1–7; also the recent interview with Will Ross in the latter's blog at W. A. Ross, 'Septuaginta & C.: Greek Old Testament and Hebrew Bible' (<https://williamaross.com/scholar-interviews/>).

³ This was under the supervision of Barnabas Lindars. He also won the Jeremie Prize in Septuagint Studies in 1968 (and returned in 2012 to deliver the Jeremie Septuagint Lecture).

⁴ Chadwick is today remembered above all for his pioneering contributions on Mycenaean Greek, but his impact as a lexicographer is very significant. He was also an important influence on Peter Glare, editor of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* and the 1996 Revised Supplement to LSJ, and on Anne Thompson, who assisted Glare on the 1996 work and is a key contributor to the *Ancient Greek-English Lexicon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2019).

⁵ J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

⁶ J. A. L. Lee, 'A Note on Septuagint Material in the Supplement to Liddell and Scott', *Glotta* 47 (1969), 234–42.

⁷ A. Pietersma, 'Context is King in Septuagint Lexicography—Or is it?', in Aitken and Evans (eds.), *Biblical Greek*, 165–75 at 165.

article were either dropped or modified in Peter Glare's 1996 Revised Supplement in light of Lee's treatment. It has been followed by a string of other important contributions on the vocabulary of the corpus.

From Cambridge Lee had returned to Sydney, where he held a fellowship (1971–72) and then a teaching post (1973–2001) in the Department of Greek (later Classics). Here 'Greek' meant 'Classical Greek' and he taught mainly the literary language of the Classical canon. He did, however, offer a course on Koine Greek which incorporated Septuagint material along with papyri, inscriptions, and other kinds of textual evidence, and (outside his own Department) an occasional reading course in Septuagint Greek.

Research time was limited, but with early retirement and a move to Macquarie University and an honorary fellowship in 2002 his career entered a highly productive phase. Lee's interests had led him in various directions involving Koine, Liturgical, and Renaissance Greek,⁸ but an invitation to deliver the prestigious Grinfield lectures at the University of Oxford in 2011–12 brought him back to Septuagint research and led to publication of his magisterial *The Greek of the Pentateuch* in 2018 and further projects on the language of the Pentateuch.⁹ These build on the foundations laid by his early work on Septuagint vocabulary, but also expand on the promise of earlier contributions addressing features of style,¹⁰ and further demonstrate the essentially natural Greek and impressive linguistic and stylistic competence of the Pentateuchal translators.

2. THE AUSTRALIAN CONTRIBUTION TO SEPTUAGINT LEXICOGRAPHY

The chief purpose of Lee's pioneering *Lexical Study* was to demonstrate the links in the sphere of vocabulary between the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch and contemporary Koine Greek,¹¹ but it was also a major contribution

⁸ To this period belongs completion of the major output *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: Lang, 2003), which has important resonances for LXX lexicography, and the production of five liturgical books under his chairmanship of the translation committee of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia. For Lee's continuing collaboration with Trevor Evans on a Greek-English lexicon of the Zenon Archive see §3 below.

⁹ J. A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

¹⁰ J. A. L. Lee, 'Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark's Gospel', *NovT* 27 (1985), 1–26, which includes Septuagint material; J. A. L. Lee, 'Translations of the Old Testament: I. Greek', in S. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 BC–AD 400* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 775–83.

¹¹ Lee, *Lexical Study*, 1; compare J. A. L. Lee, 'A *Lexical Study* Thirty Years on, with Observations on "Order" Words in the LXX Pentateuch', in S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields (eds.), with the assistance of E. Ben-David, *Emanuel: Studies*

to the development of Septuagint lexicography. Nor was it the only one to emerge from the Australian context in the 1980s. Takamitsu Muraoka at that time (1980–91) held a chair of Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Melbourne.¹² During his tenure he produced a large number of articles on Septuagint themes. This was also where he began work, at first in collaboration with Lee, on his lexicon of the Septuagint, generally recognised today as the standard work of its type for the discipline.

Soon after the establishment of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) in 1968 the production of a new Septuagint lexicon to replace J. F. Schleusner's seriously dated work of the 1820s had been identified as a key desideratum for the discipline.¹³ The need is repeatedly discussed in early issues of its *Bulletin* and related publications.¹⁴ Various steps were taken in pursuit of this grail and valuable research tools were developed, but little progress in actual lexicographical analysis was achieved under the auspices of IOSCS, let alone in scientific lexicography along the lines of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.¹⁵ Eventually Emanuel Tov, the editor designate, abandoned the plan, turning his talents in other directions. One of his key reasons, as presented in a recent memoir,¹⁶ was an increasing awareness of personal and disciplinary limitations in understanding of the Greek vocabulary contemporary with the Septuagint and especially of the evidence of the documentary papyri from Egypt. During a research visit to Macquarie University in Sydney he discovered that certain Australian-based scholars were far ahead of northern

in *Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 513–24 at 513.

¹² Muraoka's contribution to LXX studies in the Netherlands has previously been described in M. N. Van Der Meer, 'Septuagint Research in the Netherlands', *BIOSCS* 51 (2018), 21–40 at 39–40.

¹³ This was not a new idea, having already been expressed by G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, trans. A. Grieve, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909), 73 n. 3. For a brief outline of the development of LXX lexicography and Schleusner's place within it see T. V. Evans, 'The Nature of LXX Greek: Language and Lexicography', in A. Salvesen and J. Joosten (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); also J. Lust, 'J. F. Schleusner and the Lexicon of the Septuagint', *ZAW* 102 (1990), 256–262.

¹⁴ For discussion and literature see T. Muraoka, 'Introduction', in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne Symposium on LXX Lexicography* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990), pp. vii–ix; also T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2009), p. vii.

¹⁵ Compare J. W. Wevers, Review of Muraoka, Ed., *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 84 (1993), 378–80 at 378.

¹⁶ E. Tov, 'Some Academic Memoirs', in N. David and A. Lange (eds.), *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, Mass.: Peeters, 2010), 1–28 at 11.

hemisphere Septuagint colleagues in their knowledge of ‘papyrology relating to the LXX’.¹⁷ Curiously he makes no mention of Muraoka, in whose Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography he participated and to which he contributed a paper.

The Melbourne Symposium, held on 17 August 1987 at the University of Melbourne, proved to be a key event in the history of Septuagint lexicography, though this may not have been recognised at once. It arose from ‘a pilot project aimed at producing a fully fledged lexicon of the Minor Prophets in the Septuagint version’, on which Muraoka and Lee had by 1987 already been working ‘for some time’.¹⁸ Six papers were presented, each of which addressed an experimental lexical entry or entries for Septuagint words selected by the speakers. General and specific methodological issues arising were then discussed.¹⁹ Four of these papers, by Muraoka, Lee, Tov, and Paul Swinn, were subsequently published in a proceedings volume.²⁰ The Symposium represents an important step on Muraoka’s path towards publication in 1993 of the first instalment of the *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. In its finished form this work is arguably the greatest of his numerous contributions to Septuagint studies.²¹

¹⁷ Ibid. Tov dates this research visit to 1989, but must mean 1987. I thank John Lee for the information, drawn from his private diary, that Tov was definitely at Macquarie in the same year as the Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography, while Lee has no record of any visit in 1989. In the interests of accuracy it is worth correcting another mistaken memory in Tov’s valuable account of his lexicographical research. He mentions consulting Peter Glare, ‘who was in the middle of the revision of the large Liddell and Scott lexicon of the Greek language. I vividly recall him sitting in his room ... surrounded by large wooden boxes containing many compartments filled with small entry-slips’ (p. 10). The meeting seems to have occurred c. 1974. Glare was in fact then hard at work preparing the later fascicles of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (OLD), which was completed in 1982. He was appointed editor of the Revised Supplement to LSJ on 1 August 1981 (P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Greek-English Lexicon: Revised Supplement*, with the assistance of A. A. Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. v). The vast collection of slips Tov recalls would have been those of the OLD.

¹⁸ Muraoka, ‘Introduction’, p. viii; compare Muraoka, *Lexicon*, pp. vii, xvi.

¹⁹ Muraoka, ‘Introduction’, ix.

²⁰ See n. 14 above. Paul Swinn, trained at Sydney (in part by John Lee), was a gifted LXX scholar, who contributed a fine analysis of the word ἀγαπῶ to the Symposium. He chose to pursue a career in the Presbyterian church rather than academia and in recent times has served as a military chaplain in the United Kingdom.

²¹ Muraoka’s *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (*Twelve Prophets*) appeared in 1993, his *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* in 2002, and the completed work in 2009 (see n. 14 above). On the significance of the *Lexicon* and its strengths and weaknesses see the important responses J. A. L. Lee, ‘Review of T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets*’, *BIOSCS* 37 (2004), 127–39; J. A. L. Lee, Review of T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, *BIOSCS* 43 (2010), 115–25.

3. THE SYDNEY SCHOOL OF SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

In a recent interview Karen Jobes asserts that ‘Because the LXX is caught between the division of academic departments into Old Testament/Jewish Scriptures and New Testament, it has a somewhat liminal position in the academy.’²² In Australia the most productive locations are different, namely departments focused on Classics and Ancient History. The dominant model is the one created by John Lee in Sydney. The Septuagint researchers who have emerged from it have a very distinctive training, highly unusual for this discipline (though not unknown elsewhere).

The focus of Lee’s students is characteristically on the language of the Septuagint, and in particular on analysing its nature in relation to the general history of Greek, paying special attention to the contemporary evidence, and above all to that of documentary sources such as papyri and inscriptions. The approach is founded on rigorous training in Greek as the fundamental requirement of Septuagint studies. This is obviously somewhat different from the typical path for Septuagint researchers out of Old Testament or New Testament Studies.

Lee did not consciously create a ‘school’ any more than he came from one, but it seems to me that a distinctive grouping of scholars has developed naturally under his guidance and that it is fair to speak of a ‘Sydney School’ of Septuagint studies. Of his students the present writer, Trevor Evans, is to date the most active other member of this grouping.²³ Like Lee himself Evans’s background lies in Classics. He undertook his undergraduate training as an external student of the University of New England, Armidale, specialising in ancient languages including Greek and Hebrew. The comparative philologist Alan Treloar was a key influence.²⁴ Doctoral research at the University of Sydney followed in the 1990s, where his philological interests drew him inevitably to John Lee’s supervision and a Septuagint topic, an analysis of the Pentateuchal verbal system.²⁵ Evans’s resulting thesis was published

²² See Ross, ‘Septuaginta’ (<https://williamaross.com/scholar-interviews/>).

²³ Among Lee’s other LXX students Graham Simpson should be mentioned by name for his so far unpublished study ‘A Semantic Study of Words for Young Person, Servant and Child in the Septuagint and Other Early Koine Greek’ (MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1976).

²⁴ For a brief account of this low-profile colossus of Australian Classics see T.V. Evans, Obituary for Alan Treloar (1919–2011), in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 2011, 20; longer versions in *The Age*, 15 August 2011, 20; *University World News*, 21 August 2011.

²⁵ Compare T. V. Evans, ‘Idiolect and Aspectual Choice in Ancient Greek: Evidence from the Zenon Archive and the Greek Pentateuch’, in Aitken and Evans, *Biblical Greek*, 59–90 at 59–60.

in 2001 as *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch* and has been followed by a series of articles and book chapters on Septuagint language topics.²⁶

Evans has since worked on other research topics, especially on the evidence of documentary sources and on lexicographical projects, including a period based at the University of Oxford as an assistant editor of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. In 2007 he returned to Australia to take up a post in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University, Sydney. Here he and John Lee began collaborating in 2010 on a project highly relevant for Septuagint studies, the ongoing compilation of a Greek-English lexicon of the third-century BCE Zenon Archive. This massive assemblage of documentary papyri from Egypt, featuring a vocabulary of some 4,500 words, is roughly contemporary with the Greek Pentateuch and provides rich evidence for our understanding of Septuagint vocabulary. In 2018 Evans returned to active research on the Septuagint itself when he accepted an invitation to take up a Polonsky Visiting Fellowship and participate in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies ‘Greek Expanded, Greek Transformed: The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and the Cultural World of the Translators’.²⁷ Among this major international event’s many other significant outcomes it stimulated Evans’s establishment, in collaboration with James Aitken of Cambridge, of the research network ‘The Septuagint within the History of Greek’, on which see further below (§5).

4. OTHER FIGURES

Muraoka’s students at Melbourne who worked on the Septuagint and related topics were more focused on textual issues than their colleagues at Sydney. Geoffrey Jenkins published the monograph *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug*,²⁸ John Jarick *Gregory Thaumaturgos’ Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes*.²⁹ Jenkins, an expert on the Syro-Hexaplar, was based at the University of Melbourne in the period 1984–2000 (in the Department

²⁶ T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁷ The convenors of the Seminar, hosted at the University of Oxford’s Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and combining the resources of the Faculties of Oriental Studies, of Classics, and of Linguistics, Philology, and Phonetics, were Prof. Jan Joosten and Prof. Teresa Morgan, while Prof. Philomen Probert also played a key role.

²⁸ R. G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug* (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

²⁹ J. Jarick, *Gregory Thaumaturgos’ Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1990).

of Middle Eastern Studies and then as Director of the Centre for Ancient and Classical Languages),³⁰ while Jarick, now a co-editor (with Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess) of the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series, pursued his career in the United Kingdom, and is currently based at the University of Oxford.

The Universities of Sydney and Melbourne are not the only environments in Australia to have proved fertile for Septuagint studies. In Perth, on the opposite side of the continent, two scholars from seminary backgrounds have made their own contributions. John Olley, based at Vose Seminary (1978–present) has produced two monographs on Septuagint topics, *“Righteousness” in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study* (1979) and *Ezekiel: A Commentary based on Iezekiel in Codex Vaticanus* (2009), a volume in the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series.³¹ William (Bill) Loader, who capped a distinguished career at Murdoch University with appointments as Professor of New Testament (2000–05) and later Australian Research Council Professorial Fellow (2005–10), is well known for his work on sexuality in early Christian literature. He has extended his investigation of this theme to the Septuagint, most notably in *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament* (2004).³²

It is also relevant to acknowledge here the work of another Australian Septuagintalist, Bernard Taylor, a tireless contributor to Septuagint research in the North American environment.³³ Taylor’s *Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint* (1994, expanded edition 2009) is a particularly valuable tool for Septuagint research.³⁴ Among numerous other publications he also translated the Old Greek sections of 1–3 Kingdoms for the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (2007).³⁵

³⁰ The contribution of Simone Rickerby, co-supervised by Jenkins, in the ‘cognate studies’ sphere ought to be mentioned, including her ‘Lexical Variation in the Latin Text of the Jewish Greek Bible’ (PhD thesis, MCD University of Divinity, 2015).

³¹ J. Olley, *“Righteousness” in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study* (Missoula, Mont.; Scholars Press, 1979); id. *Ezekiel: A Commentary based on Iezekiel in Codex Vaticanus* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

³² W. R. G. Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004). Two published theses from this Perth environment that engage closely with the LXX should also be mentioned, A. S. Crane, *Israel’s Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008) and I. Balla, *Ben Sira on Family, Gender, and Sexuality* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

³³ L. Greenspoon, ‘The American Contribution to LXX Studies’, *BIOSCS* 50 (2017), 128–33 at 132.

³⁴ B. A. Taylor, *The Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint: A Complete Parsing Guide* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994); Id., *Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint, Expanded Edition: with Word Definitions from Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009).

³⁵ B. A. Taylor, ‘1–3 Reigns (OG)’, in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 244–319.

5. THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

At time of writing the main centres for Septuagint studies in Australia of previous decades no longer support the work of scholars specialising in this field. In Sydney at least, however, work in the discipline has by no means ceased. The ‘Sydney School’ has simply moved from the sandstone environment of the city centre to the green spaces of Macquarie University, in the north-western suburbs, and the (perhaps at first glance surprising) setting of a Department of Ancient History.

In this vibrant environment Trevor Evans has included Septuagint readings and other components similar to John Lee’s University of Sydney courses in his teaching of Ancient Greek. Promising research students are now emerging from the Macquarie system and showing an interest in the Septuagint field from the same linguistic perspective developed by Lee. Lee’s own presence provides further support and inspirational guidance for these younger scholars, while he himself continues to produce ground-breaking Septuagint research.

In 2018, meanwhile, Evans and long-term collaborator James Aitken (University of Cambridge) founded the international ‘Septuagint within the History of Greek’ research network. They were soon joined by Marieke Dhont (University of Cambridge) and Romina Vergari (University of Florence). This network is to a large extent concerned with pursuing the research methodology developed by John Lee. It provides a promising structure for the further investigation of Septuagint language in the context of the general history of Greek. There are thus reasons to be cautiously confident about both the future of the discipline in the Australian context and the further internationalisation of the Sydney School’s approach.

TREVOR V. EVANS
Macquarie University
Sydney, Australia
trevor.evans@mq.edu.au

Die Septuaginta-Forschung in Italien

Ein Überblick

Luca MAZZINGHI

1. DIE SEPTUAGINTA UND IHRE ERFORSCHUNG AN DEN ITALIENISCHEN UNIVERSITÄTEN

Zunächst aber sei daran erinnert, dass Italien das Geburtsland der ersten gedruckten Ausgabe der Septuaginta ist. Zwar wurde die Complutensische Polyglotte 1514 bis 1517 gedruckt, aber erst nach 1520 verbreitet. Die sogenannte Aldina mit dem Text der Septuaginta und des Neuen Testaments wurde von Andrea Terrisano (oder Asulano) und seinem Sohn Federico vorbereitet und wurde im Jahr 1516 bei Aldo Manuzio in Venedig gedruckt.

Im Folgenden soll ein Überblick über die Forschung an der LXX in Italien geboten werden, insbesondere während der letzten 20 Jahre.¹ Vorangestellt sei der Hinweis, dass gegenwärtig an den italienischen Universitäten kein spezifischer Kurs zur LXX angeboten wird. Eine Ausnahme bildet nur das Päpstliche Bibelinstitut in Rom, in dem jedes Jahr ein Kurs zum LXX-Griechisch beginnt, der drei Semester umfasst (Prof. Anthony Forte). Im römischen Bibelinstitut wurden auch mehrfach einsemestrige Kurse zur Theologie der LXX von Prof. Stephen Pisano, einem bekannten Forscher zur Textkritik, angeboten. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich aber um Lehrveranstaltungen, die von nichtitalienischen Dozenten innerhalb einer päpstlichen, ausgesprochen internationalen Institution gehalten werden.

Im Umkreis der Katholischen Universität Mailand hat sich jedoch eine gute Tradition der Forschung an der LXX entwickelt, die der Bibliker und Orientalist Enrico R. Galbiati vor allem mit textkritischen Fragestellungen

¹ Vgl. die erste Übersicht, die A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA bereits vor 20 Jahren erstellt hat: »La versione dei LXX negli ultimi cinquant'anni: linee principali della ricerca italiana sullo sfondo dell'indagine internazionale«, *Adamantius* 4 (1998), 7-14. Ich danke Frau Prof. Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua für die Genehmigung, hier ihren Vortrag »I LXX: „antico dono benefico che si rinnova sempre“ (De vita Mosis II, 42)«, den sie auf der ersten gemeinsamen Tagung der Associazione Biblica Italiana mit der Asociación Bíblica Española am 2.-3. März 2018 gehalten hat, einzuarbeiten.

begonnen hatte,² und die parallel dazu von der Papyrologin und international bekannten Altertumsforscherin Orsolina Montevecchi, die insbesondere den Einfluss der ptolemäischen Umwelt auf den Text der LXX untersuchte, weitergeführt wurden.³ Hinzu kommt der beachtliche Beitrag von Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, der sich niedergeschlagen hat in einer umfangreichen Reihe von Dissertationen über die LXX, die sie, oft zusammen mit Flavio Dalla Vecchia⁴, angeregt und begleitet hat, und in ihren zahlreichen eigenen Veröffentlichungen. Ihr wurde 2016 im Blick auf ihre wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit und ihre Veröffentlichungen die Gutenberg-Professur an der Universität Straßburg übertragen.

Von 1995 bis 2007 hat A. Passoni Dell'Acqua an der Universität Mailand sieben LXX-Tagungen unter dem Titel: *Septuaginta. Libri sacri della diaspora giudaica e dei cristiani* veranstaltet, die danach — sei es aus Desinteresse der akademischen Institution sei es aus finanziellen Gründen — nicht fortgesetzt wurden, wie es leider häufig an italienischen Universitäten geschieht.

Im Rahmen dieses Programms fand zunächst eine Einführungstagung über die Forschungsfelder, die mit dem Studium der LXX verbunden sind, statt (vgl. die Beiträge von M. Harl, E. Galbiati, O. Montevecchi und von A. Passoni Dell'Acqua selbst). Darauf folgte ein Studium der Textzeugen für die ursprüngliche Fassung der LXX und der juristischen Bedeutung der LXX für die Juden der ägyptischen Diaspora (1997). Die Tagungen wurden dann unter Beteiligung zahlreicher international bekannter Forscher mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit auf die verschiedenen Fassungen des biblischen Textes (LXX, Philon, Qumran, MT) fortgeführt, angefangen beim Pentateuch in seiner griechischen Gestalt und mit Blick auf das Problem des Urtextes

² Vgl. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA – G. BORGONOV, »Gli scritti«, in M. ADINOLFI – A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA (hg.), *Monsignor Enrico Rodolfo Galbiati. Un Maestro*, Casale Monferrato: Portalupi 2004, 110-173; G. BORGONOV, »Mons. Enrico Rodolfo Galbiati (1914-2004). In memoriam«, *La scuola cattolica* 132 (2004) 4, 635-698. Vgl. z.B. E.R. GALBIATI, »La versione dei LXX: influsso sui Padri e sulla liturgia greca e latina«, in: *Septuaginta. Libri sacri della diaspora giudaica e dei cristiani*. Atti della giornata di studio, 28.11.1995, ASR 1 (1996) 57-70.

³ Vgl. O. MONTEVECCHI, *Bibbia e papiri*. Luce dai papiri sulla bibbia greca (Estudis de Papirologia i Filologia Bíblica 5), Duual, Barcelona 1999 (darin auch Beiträge von J. O'Callaghan und A. Passoni Dell'Acqua).

⁴ Unter den veröffentlichten Dissertationen sei verwiesen auf R. PIERRI, *Parole del profeta Amos* (SBF Analecta 59), Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press 2002; Pierri hat außerdem zusammen mit L. Cignelli beim Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem eine Syntax des Bibelgriechischen veröffentlicht: L. CIGNELLI – R. PIERRI, *Sintassi di greco biblico (LXX e NT)*. Quaderno I.A: *Le concordanze* (SBF Analecta 61), Jerusalem 2003; Quaderno II.A: *Le diatesi* (SBF Analecta 77), Milano 2010.

(verschiedene Chronologien und Traditionen, 2001) über die Vorderen Propheten (Josua und Richter, 2003; Königtümer 2005) bis zum Chronistischen Werk (1-2 Paralipomena; Esdras und Nehemias, 2007).⁵

Die Kompetenzen und Interessen von E. Galbiati, O. Montevecchi, A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, denen sich vor kurzem jüngere Forscher zugesellten wie Marco Settembrini⁶, haben dazu beigetragen, ein sehr interessantes Forschungsgebiet zu erschließen: eine linguistische und lexikalische Gegenüberstellung der LXX und der ägyptischen griechischen Papyri als Zeugnisse einer Form der *koiné*, die große Bedeutung für die Sprache des NT hat. Es handelt sich um eine Weiterentwicklung der Intuition von A. Deissmann in seinem berühmten Werk *Licht vom Osten* (1909); diese Intuition lag auch dem Griechisch-Lexikon zum NT zugrunde, das J.H. Moulton und G. Milligan 1914 veröffentlichten⁷. Von dieser Grundlage geht auch das aktuelle Projekt des *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* aus, das auf Anregung von J. Joosten und E. Bons in Straßburg erstellt wird, an dem auch viele meist jüngere italienische Forscherinnen und Forscher mitarbeiten⁸. In diesem Lexikon soll die semantische Entwicklung der Lexeme, die die griechischen Übersetzer wählten, nachgezeichnet werden, besonders, wenn sie

⁵ Der Bericht über die erste Studientagung zur Übersetzung der LXX am 28.11.1995 findet sich in den *Annali di Scienze religiose* 1 (1996), 17-81; der Bericht über die zweite Studientagung am 13.05.1997 in: *Da Torah a nómos* (Beiträge von J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, C. Martone, A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, L. Troiani), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 2 (1997), 143-207; der Bericht über die dritte Studientagung am 11.05.1999 in: *Alessandria e il Pentateuco* (Beiträge von G.L. Prato, G. Borgonovo, A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, L. Troiani), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 3 (1999), 131-209; der Bericht über die vierte Studientagung am 10.05.2001 in: *Gerusalemme ed Alessandria, uno stesso Pentateuco?* (Beiträge von A. Catastini, N. Fernández Marcos, C. Martone, M.V. Cerutti), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 6 (2001), 125-214; der Bericht über die fünfte Studientagung am 07.05.2003 in: *Dall'Egitto alla terra di Canaan: storie di eroi e di profeti* (Beiträge von A. Rofé, L. Troiani, A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, E. Bons), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 8 (2003), 23-93; der Bericht über die sechste Studientagung am 04.05.2005 in: *I quattro libri dei Regni: storie di re e di profeti* (Beiträge von S. Pisano, A. Schenker, N. Fernández Marcos, G. Garbini), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 10 (2005), 129-178; der Bericht über die siebte Studientagung am 09.05.2007 in: *Il 'Cronista'. Esra e Neemia: la dialettica tra regalità e sacerdozio* (Beiträge von A. Schenker, A. Labahn, J. Richard, T. Janz), *Annali di Scienze religiose* 13 (2008), 13-117.

⁶ Vgl. M. SETTEMBRINI, *Isaia in Egitto. Papiri tolemaici e vicende della comunità giudaica che legge Is 58*, Torino: Claudiana 2018.

⁷ Vgl. A. DEISSMANN, *Licht vom Osten*. Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt, Tübingen: Mohr 1909; J.H. MOULTON – G. MILLIGAN, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources*, London: Hodder and Stoughton 1914-1929.

⁸ Neben A. Passoni Dell'Acqua sind hier acht ihrer Schüler zu nennen: A. Bellantuono, M. Bogogna, A. Campiglio, M. Carminati, B. Perego, C. Rascazzo, A. Redini, P. Villa; dazu kommen noch der bereits erwähnte M. Settembrini und einige Schüler von C. Neri, Professor für Griechische Philologie und Literatur an der Universität Bologna. Eine Projektbeschreibung des Lexikons findet sich in: <http://www.htlseptuagint.com>.

neue Bedeutungen annehmen, sei es durch den Einfluss der zugrundeliegenden semitischen Texte, sei es durch Übernahmen aus dem zeitgenössischen technischen (politischen, administrativen, juristischen, ökonomischen, naturwissenschaftlichen, literarischen oder religiösen) Vokabular auf die religiöse Ebene. Die Bezeugungen der vom Lexikon ausgewählten Ausdrücke werden in verschiedenen Stadien untersucht, von der Sprache Homers bis in die ersten Jahrhunderte der christlichen Zeit; dabei wird auf die literarischen und dokumentarischen Quellen (Papyri, Inschriften) geachtet, auf die semitischen Lexeme, die durch die griechischen Ausdrücke übersetzt werden, auf das NT und die patristische Literatur. Die Teilnahme zahlreicher italienischer Forscherinnen und Forscher an diesem Projekt wird sicherlich zu einer größeren Kenntnisnahme der Arbeit an der LXX führen, die in Italien in einem internationalen Kontext geleistet wird, in dem allzu häufig die italienische Sprache von den Forschern nicht beachtet wird.

Es gibt andere Beispiele einer gewissen Beachtung der LXX-Forschung in Italien: Hier sei auf die Arbeiten des Salesianers Mario Cimosà verwiesen, der dem Vokabular der LXX große Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt und ein Handbuch zur Einführung in das Septuaginta-Studium für Studenten verfasst hat⁹. Antonino Minissale hat noch vor seinem Tod eine bedeutende Studie über Ben Sira veröffentlicht: Anhand einer aufmerksamen Analyse des Textes hebt Minissale die Entsprechungen zwischen der LXX und dem Targum hervor und zugleich die Freiheit, die die griechische Übersetzung kennzeichnet und die das Buch des Siraziden gut bezeugt¹⁰. Schließlich will ein neu-lich von Eberhard Bons zusammen mit zwei jungen italienischen Forschern, Daniela Scialabba und Dionisio Candido, herausgegebener Band die Aktualität der Erforschung der LXX¹¹ deutlich machen, insbesondere durch einen Blick auf die der LXX eigene Theologie.

⁹ Vgl. M. CIMOSA, *Il vocabolario di preghiera nel Pentateuco greco dei LXX*, Roma: LAS 1985; *La preghiera nella Bibbia greca: Studi sul vocabolario dei LXX*, Roma: Dehoniane 1992; *Guida allo studio della Bibbia greca (LXX): Storia–lingua–testi*, Roma: Società biblica Britannica & Forestiera 1995.

¹⁰ Vgl. A. MINISSALE, *La versione greca del Siracide. Confronto con il testo ebraico alla luce dell'attività midrascica e del metodo targumico* (AnBib 133) Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1995.

¹¹ E. BONIS – D. SCIALABBA – D. CANDIDO (hg.), *La Settanta. Perché è attuale la Bibbia greca?*, Siracusa: San Metodio 2016, inzwischen ins Spanische übersetzt: *La Septuaginta. ¿Por qué resulta actual la Biblia griega?* (Estudios Bíblicos 65), Estella (Navarra): Verbo Divino 2018. Es sei auch verwiesen auf die Doktordissertation von D. Candido über den Text des Buches Ester: *I testi del libro di Ester. Il caso dell'introitus MT 1,1-22/LXX A1-17; alpha-Text 1,1-22/A1-18; 1,1-21* (AnBib 160) Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 2005. Dieser Reihe hinzugefügt sei auch der gerade auf Deutsch erschienene Kommentar zum Buch der Weisheit, dessen italienische Vorlage noch nicht veröffentlicht ist: Luca MAZZINGHI, *Weisheit* (IEKAT), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2018/*Wisdom* (IECOT), Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2019.

2. DIE ITALIENISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNGEN DER LXX (I).

Welche Übersetzungen der LXX ins Italienische liegen vor? An erster Stelle ist hier das wenig zitierte Werk von Aristide Brunello¹² zu nennen, eine jetzt unauffindbare Ausgabe, an deren Wiederveröffentlichung Riccardo Pierri (s.o. Anm. 4) arbeitet. Die Übersetzung Brunellos wurde mit dem Ziel unternommen, in Italien die Bibel der Kirche in griechischer Sprache bekannt zu machen. Denn Brunello war katholischer Priester, der zur Eparchie der Piana degli Albanesi auf Sizilien gehörte, einer der beiden katholischen Diözesen des griechischen Ritus in Italien; nachdem er die Genehmigung, in beiden Riten zu zelebrieren, erhalten hatte, gehörte der schon erwähnte E. Galbiati dieser Eparchie als Archimandrit an. Es ist interessant festzustellen, dass beim ersten Versuch der Übersetzung der LXX ins Italienische das Hauptmotiv liturgisch-ökumenisch und nicht wissenschaftlich-akademisch ist.

Ein anderes mit der Verwendung in der Liturgie verbundenes Werk ist *Il Salterio della Tradizione*, herausgegeben von Luciana Mortari (Schwester Maria Magdalena), die Mitglied der monastischen Gemeinschaft der *Piccola Famiglia dell'Annunziata* von Monteveglio (Bologna) ist¹³; die Verfasserin gehört der oben erwähnten (s.o. Anm. 8) Schule von Bologna an. *Il Salterio della Tradizione* ist ein gutes Beispiel der Neubewertung der LXX innerhalb der monastischen katholischen Liturgie. Dieser *Salterio* wurde später in hexaplarischer Form wiederveröffentlicht; in dieser *Esapla dei Salmi*¹⁴ steht neben dem LXX-Text (nach der alten Ausgabe von Jäger) die italienische Übersetzung von L. Mortari, daneben der lateinische Text der *Vulgata* (gallikanischer Text) und in den weiteren drei Spalten der Masoretische Text mit zwei Übersetzungen ins Italienische: die Übersetzung in der von der italienischen Bischofskonferenz (CEI) herausgegebenen Bibel von 2008 und eine sehr wörtliche Übersetzung von B. Piacentini. Das Werk ist ausdrücklich für den täglichen monastischen Gebrauch für Personen gedacht, die wenigstens eine gewisse Kenntnisse der drei Sprachen Hebräisch, Griechisch und Lateinisch haben.

Luciana Mortari veröffentlichte auch, zusammen mit Paolo Serra Zanetti, Antonio Cacciari, Camillo Neri, Pietro Rosa und verschiedenen anderen

¹² *La Bibbia secondo la versione greca dei LXX*, prima e unica traduzione in lingua moderna, traduzione e note a cura di A. BRUNELLO, Città di Castello: Unione arti grafiche 1962. Tatsächlich war die Arbeit in den Jahren 1941-45 begonnen worden.

¹³ *Il Salterio della Tradizione*, Torino: Gribaudi 1983. Im Jahre 1979 hatte Lisa Cremaschi, Mitglied der *Comunità di Bose*, den LXX-Psalter bereits ins Italienische übersetzt, aber nur für den internen Gebrauch der Gemeinschaft.

¹⁴ Vgl. *I canti di lode dei Padri. Esapla dei Salmi*, Reggio Emilia: San Lorenzo 2009.

Autoren *La Bibbia dei LXX*, eine italienische Übersetzung, der der griechische Text (nach der Edition von A. Rahlfs) vorangestellt und Erläuterungen beigelegt sind; leider ist davon nur der Pentateuch erschienen¹⁵. Dieses Werk widmet in den Erläuterungen den Unterschieden zwischen dem MT und der LXX große Aufmerksamkeit und schenkt den Aufnahmen im NT und bei den antiken Kommentatoren (Philon und Kirchenväter) eine gewisse Beachtung; es ist der Ebene von *higher vulgarization* zuzuordnen.

Aufmerksamkeit verdient noch am Ende dieser knappen Übersicht die nach dem Vorbild des Origenes angefertigte synoptische Arbeit, die Sandro Paolo Carbone und Giovanni Rizzi veröffentlicht haben: Die Bücher der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten werden in vier Bänden¹⁶ und zusammen mit einer dreifachen italienischen Übersetzung (des MT, der LXX und des *Targum*) vorgelegt. Ein Begleitband enthält eine allgemeine Einleitung¹⁷.

3. DIE ITALIENISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNGEN DER LXX (II): DIE EDITION VON P. SACCHI¹⁸

Vor kurzem wurde in Italien mit einem neuen Übersetzungsprojekt der LXX begonnen, dessen Initiator der bekannte Hebraist Paolo Sacchi war, der auch schon die italienische Übersetzung der Apokryphen des AT in fünf Bänden herausgegeben hatte¹⁹. Das Werk umfasst auch die jüdische Literatur in griechischer Sprache²⁰ und daher auch einige Texte, die zur LXX gehören wie das Dritte Makkabäerbuch²¹, die Psalmen Salomos²² und das Gebet Manasses²³. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Übersetzung und der Kommentar zum Vierten Makkabäerbuch von C. Kraus Reggiani zu nennen²⁴.

¹⁵ L. MORTARI (hg.), *La Bibbia dei LXX. I. Il Pentateuco*, Roma: Edizioni Dehoniane 1999.

¹⁶ Bologna: EDB, 1993-2001; tatsächlich fehlt aber das Buch Sacharja.

¹⁷ *Le scritture ai tempi di Gesù. Introduzione alla LXX e alle antiche versioni aramaiche*, Bologna: EDB 2000.

¹⁸ Im Folgenden beziehe ich mich auch auf den Vortrag, den L. ROSSO UBIGLI auf der gemeinsamen Tagung von ABI und ABE (s.o. Anm. 1) gehalten hat: »La nuova traduzione italiana dei LXX«.

¹⁹ *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, Torino: U.T.E.T. I. 1981; II. 1989; Brescia: Paideia III. 1999; IV. 2000.

²⁰ Bd. V hg. L. TROIANI, Brescia: Paideia 1997.

²¹ A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA (hg.), »Terzo libro dei Maccabei«, *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* IV, Brescia: Paideia 2000, 571-664.

²² M. LANA (hg.), »Salmi di Salomone«, *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* II, Torino: U.T.E.T. 1989, 39-146.

²³ P.G. BORBONE (hg.), »Preghiera di Manasse«, *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* III, Brescia: Paideia 1999, 537-549.

²⁴ C. KRAUS REGGIANI, *Quarto libro dei Maccabei* (CSANT Suppl. 1), Genova: Marietti 1992.

Die vollständige italienische Übersetzung der LXX *La Bibbia dei Settanta*, die P. Sacchi angeregt und geleitet hat, erschien in Brescia beim Verlag Morcelliana. Sie besteht aus vier Bänden: *Pentateuco* (hg. P. Lucca, 2012), *Libri poetici* (hg. C. Martone, 2013) und *Libri storici* (hg. P.G. Borbone, 2016, in zwei Teilbänden); der vierte Band *Libri profetici* (hg. L. Rosso Ubigli, 2019). An dem Projekt waren verschiedene Forscher (insgesamt 26 Übersetzer) beteiligt, größtenteils Schüler von P. Sacchi, und wendet sich deshalb nicht an LXX-Spezialisten als Leserschaft. Neben der italienischen Übersetzung steht der griechische Text nach der Edition von Rahlfs, allerdings nicht nach der Neuedition von Hanhart 2006, die am Beginn des Projekts noch nicht zur Verfügung stand. Der kritische Apparat von Rahlfs wurde nicht mitabgedruckt; wo es nötig schien, wurden andere Lesarten gewählt, so bei Ben Sira²⁵. Der kritische Apparat von Rahlfs blieb allerdings nicht völlig unbeachtet: vgl. z.B. Koh 6,5²⁶; 7,2²⁷; 7,25²⁸; 11,9²⁹.

Jedem biblischen Buch ist eine umfangreiche, zusammenfassende Einleitung vorangestellt. Die quantitativ sparsamen Anmerkungen konzentrieren sich zumeist auf philologische und linguistische Fragen mit besonderer Beachtung von *hapax legomena* und seltenen Wörtern, von eventuellen lexikalischen Neubildungen oder Neuprägungen von Ausdrücken mit auffälliger religiöser Bedeutung. In den Anmerkungen werden Unterschiede der LXX zum MT hervorgehoben, besonders solche, die aus einer anderen Deutung des hebräischen Konsonantentextes oder aus dem Einfluss der alexandrinischen kulturellen Umwelt³⁰ entstanden oder die auf theologisch-ideologische Gründe rückführbar sind³¹. Im Unterschied zur französischen Übersetzung der LXX, die M. Harl in einer Reihe von Bänden herausgegeben hat, werden in der italienischen Übersetzung die patristischen Zitate und Lesarten nicht berücksichtigt.

Der erste Band beginnt mit drei einleitenden Artikeln, der erste historischer Art von Paolo Sacchi (S. 9-29), der zweite zu philologischen Fragen von Corrado Martone (S. 31-61) und der dritte, kürzere zur Aktualität, die LXX

²⁵ Vgl. M. ZAPPELLA, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* III, 960-961; der Verfasser weicht in fünf Fällen von Entscheidungen bei Rahlfs ab (Sir 22,23; 31,5; 40,7; 42,11; 46,6) und bezweifelt zu drei Stellen die Plausibilität der Wahl von Rahlfs (Sir 4,23; 31,2; 34,9).

²⁶ Vgl. L. MAZZINGHI, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* III, 652.

²⁷ A.a.O. 654.

²⁸ A.a.O. 658.

²⁹ A.a.O. 672.

³⁰ Vgl. Ps 17^{LXX}, 3,47; vgl. A. PASSONI DELL'ACQUA, »La metafora biblica di Dio come roccia«, Eph.It. 91 (1977) 417-353.

³¹ Vgl. Koh 11,9,10: In beiden Fällen neigt die LXX zum Moralisieren; bei 11,9 lässt sich das durch einen Blick auf den kritischen Apparat bei Rahlfs zeigen (s.o.); vgl. L. MAZZINGHI, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* III, 672; ähnlich in Koh 2,3 (a.a.O. 634).

zu übersetzen, von Luca Mazzinghi (S. 63-75). Ohne allzu sehr auf technische Details einzugehen, helfen diese Beiträge dem gebildeten Leser, der die LXX noch nicht kennt, in diese neue Welt einzutreten. Sowohl Sacchi als auch Martone betonen die Notwendigkeit anzunehmen, dass die Lesarten der LXX oft auf eine nicht mit dem masoretischen Text übereinstimmende Textfassung zurückzuführen sind und nicht einfach Neuerungen der Übersetzer oder deren Eingriffe ideologischer oder theologischer Art darstellen (wenn auch eine derartige Arbeitsweise auf Seiten der Übersetzer sicher nicht fehlt, s.u.). Interessant und in vielerlei Hinsicht neu sind die Beobachtungen von P. Sacchi in Bezug auf die im MT und in der LXX unterschiedlichen Datierungen der Patriarchenzeit, die zu verschiedenen Chronologien führen: Die im MT bezeugte kreist um die Zahl 60, die an babylonische Chronologien erinnert, während die in der LXX bezeugte auf die Zahl 50 bzw. 5000 verweist; die letztgenannte Zahl stellt nach den Stoikern die Hälfte des kosmischen Jahres dar³².

In dem Einleitungsartikel von C. Martone ist die Kritik an der Auffassung von E. Tov bemerkenswert, dass „die sehr zahlreichen in der griechischen Bibel zu entdeckenden Texttraditionen doch auf einen Archetypus rückführbar“ seien³³; insbesondere sei nur ein ganz geringer Teil der Manuskripte aus Qumran mit der LXX verwandt. Am Beispiel von 1 Sam (1 Kgt^{LXX}) 2,23-25 und von Jer 47,4 (Jer^{LXX} 40,4) stellt Martone fest, dass die Untersuchung von Abschnitten, in denen sowohl die LXX als auch Textzeugen aus Qumran vom MT abweichen, eine sichere Textverwandtschaft der Qumrantexte mit den in der LXX überlieferten Lesarten zeige³⁴. Zudem formuliert Martone Vorbehalte oder ruft wenigstens zu größerer Vorsicht auf bei der Vorstellung, die Untersuchung von Manuskripten wie des griechischen Textes der Zwölf Propheten aus dem Naḥal Ḥever (=8Ḥev XIIGr) zeige einen Übergang »von der Text-“Vielförmigkeit“, die die Qumranmanuskripte böten, zur proto-masoretischen “Einheitlichkeit”«³⁵; Beispiele wie Hab 1,16 und 2,20 machen die Schwierigkeit deutlich, den griechischen Text von 8Ḥev XIIGr als nach dem MT vorgenommene Korrektur anzusehen.

³² Vgl. P. SACCHI, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* I, 17-19; C. MARTONE, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* I, 59.

³³ C. MARTONE, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* I, 45. Martone bezieht sich insbesondere auf E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, Jerusalem: Simor 1981, 41-43, und auf DERS., »Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran«, in: D. DIMANT – L.H. SCHIFFMAN (Hg.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University*. Jerusalem 1989-1990, Leiden-New York: Brill 1995, 85-102.

³⁴ Zu 1 Sam 2,23-25^{MT} enthält die LXX einen möglicherweise durch Dittographie verursachten Zusatz, der jedoch auch in 4Q Sam^a Z. 14-18 bezeugt ist, vgl. C. MARTONE, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* I, 45-47.

³⁵ Vgl. C. MARTONE, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* I, 51.

4. SCHLUSSBETRACHTUNG

Die vier Bände der von P. Sacchi herausgegebenen *Bibbia dei Settanta* bestätigen das Niveau der LXX-Forschung in Italien, wie sie besonders im ersten Abschnitt dargestellt wurde, und zwar jenseits der Mängel an den italienischen Universitäten. Es wäre sicher übertrieben, bezüglich der LXX-Forschung von einer „italienischen Schule“ zu sprechen, wenn auch die Forschung rund um die Università Cattolica in Mailand und im Umkreis von Forschern wie A. Passoni Dell’Acqua bedeutende Ergebnisse erbracht hat. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass diese Forschungsarbeit nicht von Neutestamentlern geleistet wurde, die doch als Erste an der LXX-Bibel interessiert sein müssten. Weiter ist es interessant, dass oft in den oben angeführten Arbeiten — jenseits der philologischen und lexikalischen Studien — die Frage nach der Inspiration des LXX-Textes auftaucht³⁶.

Die Frage nach der Inspiration der LXX könnte dem Forscher, der die Lektüre der LXX in objektiver Weise angehen möchte, müßig vorkommen; sie könnte für jemanden, der sich der LXX nicht mit ausdrücklich religiösem Interesse nähert, auch von recht geringer Bedeutung erscheinen. Während die orthodoxen Kirchen die LXX als heiligen Text verwenden, ist auch in der katholischen Kirche das Problem der Inspiration der LXX wiederholt aufgetaucht und tatsächlich nie endgültig gelöst worden³⁷. Heute gibt es eine starke innerkatholische Tendenz, den Text der LXX *neben* und manchmal sogar *gegen* den masoretischen Text aufzuwerten, besonders unter denen, die auf der zentralen Bedeutung des NT und des Glaubens der Kirchenväter, die die LXX als ihren eigenen biblischen Text verwendeten, bestehen. Dies alles erlaubt die Folgerung, dass einer der Gründe für die Aktualität der LXX-Forschung besonders darin liegt, dass für viele gläubige Leserinnen und Leser von den Anfängen bis heute die LXX nicht nur eine unter vielen vorhandenen und möglichen Übersetzungen ist, sondern wirklich ein Bibeltext. Diese Tatsache kann nicht unbeachtet gelassen werden. Ein großer Teil der Arbeit der Forscherinnen und Forscher, die im Vorstehenden vorgestellt werden sollten, führt in diese Richtung.

LUCA MAZZINGHI

Pontificia Università Gregoriana

Roma, Italy

lucamazzinghi@tin.it

³⁶ S. die Einleitung von M. CIMOSA, *Guida allo studio*, 17-19.

³⁷ S. den Überblick über die Fragestellung aus katholischer Sicht in V. MANNUCCI – L. MAZZINGHI, *Bibbia come Parola di Dio. Introduzione generale alla Sacra Scrittura*, Brescia: Quiriniana 2017, 307-315

Greek Idiom in the LXX-Pentateuch: The Preposition *para*

John A.L. LEE

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the preposition *para* in the LXX-Pentateuch, where it occurs 223 times. A full analysis of the Hebrew matches shows that *para* renders a great variety of equivalents. A lexical analysis, with parallels in non-LXX Greek, is presented, showing that all the senses of *para* are in accordance with Greek usage. The conclusion is drawn that the choice of *para* is not due to consistent matching with any Hebrew equivalent but is determined by context and Greek usage alone. The hypothesis is put forward that the same may be true of all prepositions in the LXX-Pentateuch. The value of the LXX as evidence for contemporary Koine Greek is also noted.

1. INTRODUCTION

Greek and Hebrew each have their own prepositions, and in each language they are part of a web or system of relationships proper to that language. While there are many ready matches between prepositions in the two languages, the two systems do not exactly align. Even when a preposition in one language is the natural equivalent of one in the other, they will almost certainly differ in their range of usage. It is also likely that there will be some spare capacity on the Greek side. The number of Greek prepositions used in the Pentateuch is 17 (that is, “proper” prepositions). The Hebrew “simple” prepositions are about the same in number. But most of the Greek ones can be used with more than one case: about half are used with two or three cases. The second most common preposition in the Pentateuch, ἐπί, appears with three cases, making it in effect three prepositions, not one. It also has a great variety of uses with each case.¹ One might wonder what Hebrew match or matches call for ἐπί to be used over 1,400 times. Only systematic enquiry can

¹ There are 39 senses (10 + 17 + 12) in T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), s.v. ἐπί. The most frequent preposition is ἐν (2,200 +),

find out. The subject of how the LXX translators use the Greek prepositions and match them to the Hebrew has received limited attention.² Investigation of this question is likely to produce new insights into the translators' methods and their familiarity with Greek.

An examination of the preposition *παρά* in the Pentateuch is the subject of this paper.³ *παρά* occurs 223 times, with all three cases. This is rather a lot for a preposition whose immediate Hebrew match is not obvious. One first wonders if some of the frequency could be due to a match to Hebrew *לְצַד*, which has the meaning "beside" like *παρά* + acc. In fact *לְצַד* occurs only 10 times in the Pentateuch, only 7 of these are translated by *παρά*, and only 4 are *παρά* + acc., "beside" (the other 3 are *παρά* + dat., "with, near"). That explanation does not take us far. What then *are* the matches to *παρά*? The aim of this paper is to answer that question, and to find out how *παρά* is actually used and why so frequently. Also to be addressed is the question whether the usage of *παρά* in the Pentateuch is in accordance with natural Greek usage. Some general conclusions from the evidence will complete the paper.

2. THE HEBREW MATCHES OF ΠΑΡΑ IN THE LXX-PENTATEUCH

Let us first see a summary of all the Greek–Hebrew matches of *παρά*, that is, what *παρά* corresponds to in the Hebrew text (of MT) at each occurrence. The data are based on a full list I have compiled, which need not be presented in its entirety here.⁴ The matches for the three cases are as follows:

then ἐπί (1,400 +), followed by εἰς (1,200 +). Hebrew of course expands its repertoire by "complex" prepositions such as *לְפָנֵי*.

² Some questions are explored in five papers by I. Soisalon-Soininen in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juli 1987 herausgegeben von Anneli Aejmelaeus und Raija Sollamo* (AASF 237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987). Cf. also R. Sollamo's classic *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1979), and "Repetitions of Prepositions in the Septuagint of Genesis," in García Martínez, F., and M. Vervenne (eds.), *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETL 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 371–84. M. Johannesson, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (MSU III.3; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926) has good observations but is only a beginning.

³ Revised version of a paper presented in the Greek Bible Section at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Denver 2018. My thanks to Jim Aitken for comments at the session and to Trevor Evans for reading the final version; also to Siegfried Kreuzer for retyping the Hebrew and an anonymous reviewer for helpful suggestions.

⁴ Prepared with the aid of "Accordance" and checked against the printed Göttingen text. The possibility of a different Heb. original of course arises, but affects very few cases.

2.1 *pará* + *acc.*

Key: + = added without match in MT. >MT = text lacking in MT. ~ = corresponds to.

	אל	אצל	ב	לפני	מן	מן#	על	על-†	other*	+	free	>MT
Gen.	1	1	3		2		3		2	1		
Exod.	1		2	1	2	1	3	2	3	6	2	1
Lev.	6	2		3						4		
Num.	2		2		1	1	5	1	4	5		2
Deut.		1	2		8	1	2	1				
Totals	10	4	9	4	13	3	13	4	9	16	2	3

In מבל(ת)י

[Total 90]

† על-דבר (אשר), על-שפת, על-יד

* Gen.: ל, עם. Exod.: אחר, בקצה, מדי. Num.: עלי, ימה, מעבר ל, עלי (~ *parà thálassan*)2.2 *pará* + *gen.*

	את	ל	מאת	מאת פניו	מיד	מלפני	מן	מעם	על	other*	+	free	>MT
Gen.	1		6	1	4		4	2			1		
Exod.			9			1	2	2	1		3	1	1
Lev.			8		1	2	1				1		
Num.		1	16				1		1	1	6	1	
Deut.			5			1	1	4			1		
Totals	1	1	44	1	5	4	9	8	2	1	12	2	1

* מלבי (~ *par' éμautou*)

[Total 91]

2.3 *pará* + *dat.*

	אצל	את	כיד	בן	בית	בעיני	עמדי/עם	+	free	>MT
Gen.	3	5	2		3		1 + 2	1		3
Exod.		4		1		2	1		1	
Lev.		1					5			
Num.						1	2			
Deut.							2 + 1	1		
Totals	3	10	2	1	3	3	14	2	1	3

[Total 42]

2.4 Comments

The striking thing is the great variety of the Hebrew matches. For all three cases of *παρά* there are multiple Hebrew equivalents. The total, if one unpacks the “other” category, is over 30. We note also that *παρά* is quite often added without a match in the Hebrew (30 times), and there are a few “free” renderings as well. Are there *any* constant matches? The only one that stands out is *παρά* + gen. ~ *מֵאֵת* (× 44). But what is its significance? It hardly constitutes a case of stereotyping, when the total is no more than 69% of the renderings of *מֵאֵת* (total 64), and there are significant and deliberate variations *from* *παρά*.⁵ It is not in any case an exact match or calque representing the two elements of *מֵאֵת* (lit. “from with”): *παρά* equates only to the “from” element.⁶ Can we detect interference, that is, use of *παρά* in an unGreek way caused by the match to *מֵאֵת*? Hardly: *παρά* + gen. (receive) “from” (a person) is an entirely natural Greek use and is exactly the right expression for the contexts in which it appears.

None of the other fairly frequent matches comes to a different result. For instance, *παρά* renders *מִן* 22 times (with two cases). But *παρά* is not the obvious equivalent: that would be *ἀπό* or *ἐκ*. So interference cannot be a factor. On examination it turns out that (a) *παρά* + *acc.*, which renders *מִן* 13 times, mostly renders *מִן* meaning “more than, beyond”, for which it is a natural Greek expression;⁷ and (b) *παρά* + *gen.*, which renders *מִן* 9 times, is mostly used for the meaning “from” (a person), again natural Greek,⁸ the same as the rendering of *מֵאֵת*. Similarly, the match of *παρά* + *dat.* to *עִמָּדִי/עִם*, which is found 14 times, comes about because certain uses of *παρά* are more suitable in the contexts than the predictable equivalent *μετά*.⁹ In short, the choice of *παρά* is not governed by the Hebrew word in the original but by other factors, namely context and Greek usage (see further below, §5).

⁵ Summary of other renderings of *מֵאֵת*: *ἀπό* × 12; *ἐκ* × 4; *ὀπίσω* × 1 (not = MT); omitted × 3; total 20. Specimens: Exod. 5:20 *ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Φαραώ* (*מֵאֵת פִּרְעוֹה*); Num. 31:2 *ἐκδίδει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν... ἐκ τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν* (*מֵאֵת הַמַּדְיָנִים*). These are contextual choices.

⁶ Cf. John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 244 for further comments on *מֵעַם* and *מֵאֵת*.

⁷ Ten times: Gen. 37:3; 43:34b; Exod. 18:11; 33:16b; Num. 12:3; Deut. 7:6, 7a, b, 14; 10:15. The other three are: Deut. 2:8 (I.2 “beside”); 7:8 (I.4 “on account of”); 9:28b (I.4 “on account of”). Cf. Soisalon-Soininen’s study of comparative *מִן* discussed in Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 30–1.

⁸ Seven times: Gen. 18:14; 23:13; 24:50; Exod. 3:22; 12:35; Lev. 25:33; Num. 3:12. The other two are: Gen. 49:24(25) (unclear: II.2 “from”?) and Deut. 22:3 (II.4 “by”).

⁹ *παρά* meaning “with, near, in the hands of” (III.1): Gen. 24:25; 31:32c; Exod. 22:25(24); Lev. 47a, b; Deut. 29:17(16); 32:34; meaning “in the household of” (III.2): Gen. 29:27; Lev. 25:35, 39, 40; Num. 22:8, 9; Deut. 15:16. This is not to say *μετά* is not used for *עִם*: see Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 317–8 for full lists of *עִם* ~ *μετά* + gen. and *עִם* with other renderings.

3. SAMPLES OF THE USAGE OF *ΠΑΡΑ*

For a closer look at how *παρά* is used, let us see the occurrences with each case in three different books. The second-last column shows the Hebrew match; the number in the last column refers to the lexical analysis of *παρά* in §4 below.

3.1 *παρά* + *acc.* in *Genesis*

13:18	κατόκησεν παρά τὴν δρὺν τὴν Μαμβρή	יָשַׁב בְּאֵלֵי מִמְרָא	ב	I.2
19:1	ἐκάθητο παρά τὴν πύλιν Σοδόμων	יָשַׁב בְּשַׁע־סֹדֶם	ב	I.2
22:17	ὥς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρά τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης	וְכָחֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל־שַׁפַּת הַיָּם	על	I.2
24:11	ἐκοίμισεν τοὺς καμήλους... παρά τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὕδατος	אֶל־בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם	אל	I.2
25:11	κατόκησεν... παρά τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ὀράσεως	עַם־בְּאֵר לְחֵי רֹאִי	עם	I.2
29:20	παρά τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτήν	בְּאֵהָבָתוֹ אֶתָּה	ב	I.4
36:37	ἐκ Ῥοβὼθ τῆς παρά ποταμόν	מִרְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר	+	I.2
37:3	ἡγάπα τὸν Ἰωσήφ παρά πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ	אָהַב אֶת־יֹסֵף מִכָּל־בְּנָיו	מן	I.3
41:3a	καὶ ἐνέμοντο παρά τὰς βόας	וְתַעֲמִדְנָה אֶצֶל הַפְּרוֹת	אצל	I.2
41:3b	παρά τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ	עַל־שַׁפַּת הַיָּאֵר	על	I.2
41:17	ᾤμην ἐστάναι παρά τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הִנְנִי עֹמֵד עַל־שַׁפַּת הַיָּאֵר	על	I.2
43:34b	ἐμεγαλύνθη δὲ ἡ μερίς Βενιαμὴν παρά τὰς μερίδας πάντων	וְתָרַב מִשְׁאֵת בְּנִימִן מִמִּשְׁאֵת כָּל־ם	מן	I.3
49:13	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὄρμον πλοίων	וְהוּא לְחֹף אֲנִיּוֹת	ל	I.2

In most of these *παρά* has the one meaning, “beside” (I.2), yet it corresponds to six different Hebrew prepositions: **ב**, **על**, **אל**, **עם**, **עצל**, **ל**. In 49:13 there is some interpretation by the translator: the Hebrew has “and he (will be) as/for a shore/haven(?) of ships,” but the translator has made it “and he (will be) *beside* an anchorage of ships.” There is interpretation similarly in 36:37, which is a good example of added *παρά*: the Hebrew says “Rehoboth of the river,” but the translator clarifies with “*R. beside* the river.”¹⁰ In all of the examples the

¹⁰ *παρά* ποταμόν is a set phrase that does not require the article, as we might say “Rooboth-on-river”: cf. Henley-on-Thames, Southend on Sea (and many others). Cf. J. W. Wevers, *Notes*

translator says what he wants to say using *παρά* to do it, instead of representing the Hebrew by a stock equivalent.

In 29:20 there is an example of *παρά* + articular infinitive meaning “on account of,” a use that may be unfamiliar to some but is well attested in documents (see I.4 below). As can be seen, the translator has declined to use *ἐν* as the match to **ב** and also converted the noun (**אֶהְיֶה**) into an infinitive. The match *παρά* + acc. ~ **מִן** “more than,” discussed above, is exemplified in 37:3 and 43:34b.

3.2 *παρά* + gen. in Deuteronomy

2:6a	βρώματα ἀγοράσατε <i>παρ'</i> αὐτῶν	אכל תשברו מאתם בכסף	מאת	II.2
2:6b	καὶ ὕδωρ μέτρῳ λήμψεσθε <i>παρ'</i> αὐτῶν ἀργυρίου	וגם־מים תכרו מאתם בכסף	מאת	II.2
3:4	οὐκ ἦν πόλις, ἦν οὐκ ἐλάβομεν <i>παρ'</i> αὐτῶν	לא היתה קריה אשר לא־לקחנו מאתם	מאת	II.2
10:12	τί κύριος ὁ θεός σου αἰτεῖται <i>παρὰ</i> σοῦ ἄλλ' ἢ φοβεῖσθαι...;	מה יהוה אלהיך שאל מעמך כי אִם־ליראה	מעם	II.2
17:18	καὶ γράψει ἑαυτῷ τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο εἰς βιβλίον <i>παρὰ</i> τῶν ἱερέων	וכתב לו את־משנה התורה הזאת על־ספר מלפני הכהנים	מלפני	II.2
18:3a, b	καὶ αὕτη ἡ κρίσις τῶν ἱερέων, τὰ <i>παρὰ</i> τοῦ λαοῦ, <i>παρὰ</i> τῶν θυόντων τὰς θυσίας...	וזה יהיה משפט הכהים מאת העם מאת זבחי הזבח	מאת מאת	II.2, II.2
18:16	κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἡτήσω <i>παρὰ</i> κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου	ככל אשר־שאלת מעם יהוה	מעם	II.2
22:3	ὅσα ἂν ἀπόληται <i>παρ'</i> αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐρηγῇ	אשר־תאבד ממנו ומצאתה	מן	II.4
23:15 (16)	οὐ παραδώσεις παῖδα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὃς προστέθειταί σοι <i>παρὰ</i> τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ	לא־תסגיר עבד אל־אדניו אשר־ינצל אליך מעם אדניו	מעם	II.2
23:21 (22)	ὅτι ἐκζητῶν ἐκζητήσει κύριος ὁ θεός σου <i>παρὰ</i> σοῦ	כי־דרש ידרשנו יהוה אלהיך מעמך	מעם	II.2
33:23	καὶ ἐμπλησθήτω εὐλογία <i>παρὰ</i> κυρίου	ומלא ברכת יהוה	+	II.2

on the Greek Text of Genesis (SCS 35; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1993), 607, dubiously: “One might have expected τοῦ ποταμοῦ [*sic*], but the word is here rationalized as meaning ‘beside a river’.”

Here *παρά* “from” (a person) is frequent (× 11) because it is, as was said above (§2.4), the best fit in the contexts. In this sample it renders *מֵאֵת* often (× 5), but note that it renders *מֵעַם* nearly as often (× 4). If we try out *ἀπό* or *ἐκ* as an alternative to *παρά* in these places, we can see that they are not well-suited to the contexts. In 10:12, for example, *ἀπὸ σοῦ* might just be possible, but *ἐκ σοῦ* does not seem right at all; a check confirms that *αἰτῶ/-οῦμαι* “ask for” (from a person) is never followed in the Pentateuch by *ἀπό* or *ἐκ*, only *παρά*, regardless of what the original has.¹¹ The “from” words used with *λαμβάνω*, like *παρά* in 2:6b and 3:4, are a longer story, but when *ἀπό* and *ἐκ* are used with this verb, which they are, they have meanings different from *παρά*.¹² Similar data could be gathered for the other verbs in this sample.

Two other examples here are worth comment. In 18:3 the translator has twice translated *מֵאֵת* by *παρά*, but in the first instance has inserted *τά* before it. Why? To make the meaning clear as he sees it: “This is the decision for the priests as regards the things from the people (*τὰ παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ*), from those sacrificing (*παρὰ τῶν θυόντων*).” The first phrase gives the subject-matter, the second specifies. The last occurrence in the table, 33:23, is another case of added *παρά* reflecting an interpretation by the translator: “blessing *from* the Lord,” instead of “blessing of the Lord.”¹³

3.3 *παρά* + *dat.* in Exodus

2:21	κατωκίσθη δὲ Μωϋσῆς <i>παρὰ</i> τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ	וַיֹּאֵל מֹשֶׁה לַשֹּׁבֵת אֶת־הָאִישׁ	את	III.2
16:18	ἕκαστος εἰς τοὺς καθήκοντας <i>παρ'</i> ἑαυτῷ συνέλεξαν	אִישׁ לְפִי־אָכְלוֹ לִקְטוֹ	free	III.2
22:25 (24)	ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον ἐκδανείσης τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ πενιχρῷ <i>παρὰ</i> σοί	אִם־כֶּסֶף תְּלוֹה אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־הָעַנִּי עִמָּךְ	עם	III.1
31:13	ἔστιν γὰρ σημεῖον <i>παρ'</i> ἔμοι καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν	כִּי אוֹת הוּא בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם	בין	III.1
33:12b	οἶδά σε <i>παρὰ</i> πάντας, καὶ χάριν ἔχεις <i>παρ'</i> ἔμοι	יֵדַעְתִּיךְ בְּשֵׁם וְגַם־מִצִּיּוֹן חֵן בְּעֵינִי	בעיני	III.3

¹¹ *αἰτῶ/-οῦμαι* + *παρά*: Exod. 3:22 (מן); 11:2 (מֵאֵת); 12:35 (מן); 22:14(13) (מֵעַם); Deut. 10:12 (מֵעַם); 18:16 (מֵעַם).

¹² *λαμβάνω* + *ἀπό* or *ἐκ* in Deut.: 1:15 (ἐξ ὑμῶν, “from among” > MT), 23 (ἐξ ὑμῶν, “from among” ~ מִכֶּם), 25 (ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ, “some of” ~ מִפְּרִי); 26:2 (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς, “some of” ~ מִרְאשִׁית), 4 (ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου, “out of” ~ מִיֶּדֶךְ).

¹³ It is not evident why *παρά* is inserted here in particular, when the same phrase בִּרְכַּת יְהוָה is translated by a simple genitive in Gen. 39:5; Deut. 12:15; 16:17; 33:13 (מִבְּרָכָת).

33:16a	ὅτι εὗρηκα χάριν παρά σοί	כִּי־מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ	בעיני	III.3
33:21	ἰδοὺ τόπος παρ ' ἐμοί, στήσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας	הִנֵּה מָקוֹם אֲתִי וְנִצַּבְתָּ עַל־הַצּוּר	את	III.1
35:23	καὶ παρ ' ᾧ εὗρέθη βύσσος	וְכָל־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־נִמְצָא אֹתוֹ תִּכְלֶת	את	III.1
35:24	καὶ παρ ' οἷς εὗρέθη ξύλα ἄσηπτα	וְכָל אֲשֶׁר נִמְצָא אֹתוֹ עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים	את	III.1

To render **עם** and **את**, both roughly equivalent to English “with,” the translators of course frequently use μετά + gen.; but there are many other renderings, and μετά is used for only 64% of the occurrences of **עם**, and 47% of **את**.¹⁴ For the meaning “with, near, in the hands of” (III.1 below), παρά + dat. is more appropriate. How often this is the case in the Pentateuch overall cannot be pursued here, but in this sample we see it several times. Thus in 33:21, “Here is a place near me, you shall stand on the rock,” παρ' ἐμοί is more suitable than μετ' ἐμοῦ (= “in company with me”), which would hardly give the right sense.

The sample also shows two instances of an interesting use of παρά + dat. that emerged from the evidence of the documentary papyri, namely, “in the household of” (sense III.2 below). This is identifiable in 2:21 and 16:18 above, and several times elsewhere, including two notable instances in Genesis (see below, §4). A case of interpretative rendering appears in 31:13, where the Exodus translator changes “[my Sabbaths] are a sign between me and between you” (**אות ביני וביניכם**) into “a sign *with* me and *among* you” (σημεῖον παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν).¹⁵

4. LEXICAL ANALYSIS OF ΠΑΡΑ, WITH PARALLELS IN NON-LXX GREEK

I next offer a lexical analysis of the occurrences of παρά in the Pentateuch, with parallels in non-LXX Greek. Parallels were readily found in III BC papyri (one II BC) for all the meanings except the first, one of the oldest and most basic; but it was easily found in older sources from Homer onwards. There can be no doubt about its currency in the language of the third century BC.¹⁶

¹⁴ Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 317–20.

¹⁵ The standard rendering of בֵּין is ἀνά μέσον. The Exodus translator again avoids it in 31:17 with reference to the Sabbath: διαθήκη αἰώνιος (17) ἐν ἐμοὶ (**ביני**) καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς (**ובין בני**) Ἰσραὴλ· σημεῖον ἐστιν αἰώνιον. There has to be an exegetical reason for this.

¹⁶ A later example spans the gap: Mark 1:16 παράγων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

In this analysis the method of indicating meaning is by gloss (in *italics*) and collocation (in brackets, plain text). An improved method could be achievable.¹⁷ For each of the senses one example in the Pentateuch is offered (sometimes two), with the Hebrew match to *παρά*.

I. *παρά* + acc.

1. (movement) *alongside* (a place)

Exod. 2:5 αἱ ἄβραι αὐτῆς παρεπορεύοντο *παρά* τὸν ποταμόν. (ד"ה)

Homer, *Iliad* 1.34 βῆ δ' ἄκέων *παρά* θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

And he went in silence along the shore of the loud-sounding sea.

Plato, *Gorgias* 511e.5 ταῦτα διαπραζάμενος ἐκβὰς *παρά* τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν ναῦν περιπατεῖ.

After carrying out (this service), he goes ashore and walks back and forth beside the sea and the ship.

2. (to or at a position) *beside, at* (a place)

Exod. 15:27 παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ *παρά* τὰ ὕδατα. (ה)

Lev. 19:21 προσάξει... τῷ κυρίῳ *παρά* τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς... κριὸν πλημμελείας. (חכח)

PCairZen 1.119.6 εἰς βοτανισμὸν τῆς *παρ'* αἰγιαλὸν ἀρ(ουρῶν) ιε.

For weeding of the 15 arouras of land beside the shore.

PHeid 8.421.10 (II BC) ἐν τῷ τριτῷ καταβαίνουσι ἀπὸ τῆς . . υφης *π[α]ρά* τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος.

In the third (room) they come down from the ceiling(?) beside the door of the men's apartment.

3. *more than, beyond*

Num. 12:3 Μωσῆς πραῦς σφόδρα *παρά* πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. (מ)

PSI 4.422.34 ὁ πατήρ μου προετέραι (-α) *παρά* πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ.

My father was superior to all the (farmers) there.

4. *on account of* (+ artic. inf.)

Exod. 14:11 *παρά* τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν μνήματα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. (מב)

PCairZen 3.377.5 *παρά* τὸ μὴ σε χορηγεῖν ἡμῖν ἢ τὰ κατὰ/ τὴν συγγραφὴν...

Because you have not supplied us with what was stated in the contract.

II. *παρά* + gen.

1. (movement) *from* (a place, person)

Lev. 9:24 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πῦρ *παρά* κυρίου. (נהלמ)

PMich 1.34.16 ἀπόλωλέμ μοι ὄνος θήλεια ἢ λευκὴ ἐκπηδήσασα *παρά* Νικίου νυκτός.

I have lost one white female donkey which escaped from Nikias by night.

¹⁷ As is being explored in the project "A Greek-English Lexicon of the Zenon Archive" conducted by Trevor Evans and this author. The Pent. data might seem to require many senses of *παρά*, but that corpus produces even more.

2. (obtain, receive) *from* (a person)

Lev. 25:36 οὐ λήμψη **παρ'** αὐτοῦ τόκον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πλήθει. (לָקַח)

PCairZen 1.120.2 διὰ τὸ προλαβεῖν **παρ'** αὐτοῦ κερμάτιον εἰς ἐφόδια.

Because we received in advance from him money for travel expenses.

Idiom: **παρ'** ἑμαυτοῦ (“from my own resources”/ “on my own account”)

Gen. 31:39 ἐγὼ ἀπετίννυν **παρ'** ἑμαυτοῦ κλέμματα. (מִיָּדִי)

Num. 24:13 οὐ δυνήσομαι παραβῆναι τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ πονηρὸν ἢ καλὸν **παρ'** ἑμαυτοῦ. (מִלְכִּי)

PMich 1.58.27 προστέθεικα δὲ καὶ **παρ'** ἑμουτοῦ (= ἑμαν-) ἐρίων μν(ᾶν) α.

I have also added from my own resources 1 mina of wool.

3. (a person) *attached to* (a person)

Num. 31:49 οἱ παῖδές σου εἰλήφασιν τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν τῶν **παρ'** ἡμῶν. (בְּיָדֵינוּ)

PCairZen 1.33.7 ἠξίουν κατασταλῆναι τινα τῶν **παρὰ** σοῦ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον.

I asked that one of your people be sent down to Lysimachos.

PCairZen 4.532.24 τῷ **παρ'** Ἀπολλωνίου Ζήνωνι.

To Zenon who is Apollonios's agent.

4. (action) *by* (a person)

Deut. 22:3 ὅσα ἂν ἀπόληται **παρ'** αὐτοῦ καὶ εὗρης. (מֵיְדֵי)

PCol 3.46.3 ...τὴν **παρὰ** σοῦ δοθῆσαν γραφὴν τῶν ἱερέων.

[Contrary to] the list of pigs given by you.

III. **παρά + dat.**1. *with, near, in the hands of* (a person)

Gen. 39:15 καταλιπὼν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ **παρ'** ἑμοὶ ἔφυγεν. (עִמִּי)

Lev. 19:13 οὐ κοιμηθήσεται ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ **παρὰ** σοὶ ἕως πρωῒ. (עִמָּךְ)

PCairZen 1.120.1 **παρὰ** Διονυσοδώρῳ τῷ Διονυσίου υἱῷ κατελίπομεν ἰβατιάκια β ἐν θήκῃ.

With Dionysodoros son of Dionysios we left 2 dishes as security.

2. *in the household of* (a person)

Gen. 40:3 καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ **παρὰ** τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. (בְּבֵית שַׂר הַבִּיטָא)

Gen. 40:7 ...τοὺς εὐνούχους Φαραώ, οἱ ἦσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ **παρὰ** τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ. (בְּבֵית אֲדֹנָי)

PCairZen 2.192.5 ...γράψαι ἰ [σο]ἰ περ[ὶ αὐ]τ[οῦ], ἵνα κατατάξης πρὸς αὐτὸν **παρὰ** σοί.

[They asked me] to write to you about him, to give him some position with you.

3. *in the estimation of* (a person)

Exod. 33:16a ὅτι εὗρηκα χάριν **παρὰ** σοί. (בְּעֵינֶיךָ)

PCairZen 3.481.18 γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ ἰ **παρὰ** τοῖς κεραμεῦσιν ἰ διαβολὴν ἔχοντά με·

Know also that I am subject to malicious accusation among the potters.

Brief comments may be made on some meanings and examples here. The approach to idioms (i.e., fixed expressions that have a meaning beyond that of the parts) is to place them under the meaning of the preposition itself, as one can best understand it. The idiom *παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ* turns up in the Pentateuch and is able to be paralleled in a contemporary text. It is placed here under sense II.2, as the closest to what seems to be the meaning of *παρά* itself.¹⁸

A further point related to the lexical analysis. The lexicographically-inclined reader may notice that sense I.2 wraps together two meanings, one implying movement to an end-point, i.e., “to” a position beside something, the other without movement, “at” a position beside something. This is about “lumping” and “splitting.” The lexicographer has to decide if the difference is significant enough to justify splitting, that is, setting up separate senses, or not. In this case many of the occurrences are not clearly one sense or the other, or may imply a bit of both, so separate senses are difficult to maintain.

Sense II.3 “attached to” is a somewhat counter-intuitive meaning: one expects *παρά + gen.* to mean “from.” But this sense is well-attested in documents, and the transition is illustrated by PCairZen 1.33.7 (in II.3 above), which could possibly be taken as “from.” Num. 31:49 is clear and represents the meaning of the original: “Your servants have taken the total of the fighting men who belong/-ed to us” (τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ~ אשר בידנו, “who are/were under our control”).¹⁹

Sense III.2 “in the household of” has been noticed above in Exod. (§3.3). Most of the examples correspond to *עם*, and some can be hard to distinguish from III.1 “with.”²⁰ But in the two quoted (Gen. 40:3, 7), the original has *בית*, “in the house” (of), leaving little doubt how the Greek was intended.²¹

¹⁸ The parallel is exact for the first, literal use (Gen. 31:39); the other (Num. 24:13) is metaphorical. The next exx. in documents are BGU 8.1882.7 (I BC), SEG 25.501.56 (c.85 BC), both literal; there are others later. I have not searched literary Greek. LSJ, s.v. *παρά* A.II.2, has exx. with 3rd pers. reflexive ἑαυτοῦ.

¹⁹ Other III BC examples of sense II.3: PCairZen 1.4.46; 2.247.2; 2.217.5.

²⁰ Full list of definite and possible exx. of “in the household of”: Gen. 24:23 (*בית*), 25 (*עם*); 29:27 (*עמדי*); 39:2 (+); 40:3 (*בית*), 7 (*בית*); Exod. 2:21 (*את*); 16:18 (free); Lev. 25:35 (*עם*), 39 (*עם*), 40 (*עם*), 47a (*עם*), 47b (*עם*); Num. 22:8 (*עם*), 9 (*עם*); Deut. 15:16 (*עם*) [total 16]. Muraoka (*Lexicon*, s.v. *παρά*) includes four of these under II.1.a (I give M.’s translations): Gen. 40:3 (“at the chief cook’s”), Num. 22:9 (“at your place”), Gen. 29:27 (“you will work with me”), 39:2 (“he entered... the Egyptian master’s service”); but they are combined with others under one meaning stated as: “indicates proximity, ‘beside, at’.” Other documentary exx. are: PCairZen 1.15.vrp.4; 3.491.19.

²¹ Also in Gen. 24:23, a rather different context but evidently intended in the same sense: εἰ ἔστιν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τόπος ἡμῖν καταλῦσαι; (...*היש בית-אביך מקום*).

Knowing that *παρά* has this meaning makes the narrative clear, and proves that the translator was fully cognizant of what his original meant to say.²²

5. CONCLUSIONS

Let us begin with a summary of characteristics of the usage of *παρά* in the LXX-Pentateuch, based on the foregoing data:

- (a) Inconsistency in Greek–Hebrew matches
- (b) Limited consistency in *חמ ~ παρά + gen.*
- (c) No evident cases of Hebrew interference
- (d) Full range of uses of *παρά*
- (e) natural Greek uses
- (f) Used in free or interpretative renderings
- (g) Added without any Hebrew match

The evidence for (a) is seen in the summary of the Hebrew matches in §§2.1–3 and in the samples in §§3.1–3. It is hard to detect any consistent, one-to-one matches, except in *παρά + gen. ~ חמ*; but this match only reflects the fact that *παρά + gen.* is the natural Greek way of expressing the idea in the contexts (§2.4). The same is true of other somewhat frequent matches (§2.4). Hebrew interference (c) cannot be identified if the use of *παρά* is normal Greek—which it is in every case. The evidence for (d) and (e) was found in the analysis of the uses of *παρά* in the Pentateuch, with parallels in contemporary documentary texts (or earlier) (§4). The significance of (f) and (g) is that they show that the translators were able to deploy *παρά* idiomatically without being constrained by the original. A final point may be added. Though a fine-grained study of each translator would be needed for finality, the impression is strong that there are no differences between the (five) translators in their usage of *παρά*. That there were five translators I think likely on other grounds, but *παρά* does not seem to offer help to prove it.

The conclusions I draw are the following.

1. The Pentateuch translators do not follow any fixed equivalence in the use of *παρά* but use it, more or less instinctively, when it best suits the context in accordance with natural Greek.
2. The evidence I think justifies putting this conclusion in a stronger (perhaps surprising) form: *it does not matter what the Hebrew preposition is;*

²² Wevers (*Genesis*, 663) claims that the Hebrew original in Gen. 40:3 “troubled” the translator; but his own understanding is troubled by unawareness of this meaning of *παρά*.

the translator's choice of παρά is determined by context and natural Greek usage alone. This is not to say that the Hebrew preposition plays *no* role: obviously the translator reads (or hears) the Hebrew text with the preposition in it and takes in its meaning before choosing a rendering; but *which* Greek preposition will be chosen (or whether there will even be one) is not determined by the Hebrew preposition.

3. On the basis of this result for παρά and the similar findings of studies of κατά and the renderings of עַם and אֶת,²³ I here put forward a somewhat bold proposal, namely, that the same conclusion as reached for παρά applies to *all* prepositions in the LXX-Pentateuch: that is, the choice of Greek preposition is generally if not always determined by the needs of context and Greek usage, not the preposition used in the Hebrew original. This is a hypothesis to be tested by further enquiry. It is intended to challenge the easy assumption that the translators' usual practice was simply to replicate the Hebrew preposition by a standard Greek equivalent. This is not true of παρά, as we have seen, nor of κατά and the renderings of עַם and אֶת.
4. The Pentateuch translators' use of παρά is further proof of their intimate acquaintance with Greek to the point of native-speaker competence.
5. The value of studying LXX usage alongside that of contemporary Koine Greek is again demonstrated. There is a further outcome of that approach: the LXX Pentateuch itself may provide evidence *for* contemporary Greek.²⁴ Its value in this respect varies. It may do no more than confirm an already well-attested meaning or use, as is the case with most of the uses of παρά, or it may provide useful support, as in its attestation of the idiom παρ' ἐμᾶυτοῦ (II.2) and its confirmation of the meaning "in the household of" (III.2).

JOHN A.L. LEE
Macquarie University
Sydney, Australia
lee121@bigpond.com

²³ Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 154–9 (κατά written May 2015); 242–7 (עַם and אֶת July 2014).

²⁴ Cf. Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 5.

Biblical Greek and post-biblical Hebrew in the minor Greek versions

On the verb συνερίζω “to render intelligent” in a scholion on Gen 3:5, 7

Jan JOOSTEN

The post-Septuagint Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible are for the most part known only fragmentarily, from quotations in Church Fathers or from glosses figuring in the margins of Septuagint manuscripts. Once upon a time a full version of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus must have existed. Origen transcribed all three of them in his Hexapla, where Jerome and Eusebius could consult them. Some of them may have lived on for a while in late Antiquity among specific groups.¹ Eventually, however, they perished. Partial exceptions exist, but they are rare: a text going under the name of Theodotion was adopted early on for Daniel, and nearly came to supersede the Old Greek version.² For some books—Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations—no “Old Greek” version ever existed, and translations in the style of Theodotion

¹ Both Reinhard Ceulemans and Olivier Munnich have argued that what has come down to us of the Three originated mostly in the Hexapla, see R. Ceulemans, “Greek Christian Access to ‘The Three’, 250-600 CE,” in *Greek Scriptures and the Rabbis* (ed. T. Michael Law & Alison G. Salvesen; CBET 66; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 165-191; O. Munnich, “Les révisions juives de la Septante. Modalités et fonctions de leur transmission. Enjeux éditoriaux contemporains,” in *La Bible juive dans l'Antiquité* (éd. Rémi Gounelle, Jan Joosten; Histoire du Texte Biblique 9; Prahins: Zèbre, 2014), 141-190. This may well be true. However, some of the later versions may have lived on into Late Antiquity among Jewish or Jewish-Christian groups, and Christians may have come into contact with them at various points. Note that Clement of Alexandria quotes Ezek 18:4-9 from Aquila or Theodotion in *Stromata* II 22,135,1-2. The Greek Acts of Pilate quote the Old Testament according to a version that may perhaps be identified as Theodotion, see J. Joosten, “Le texte biblique cité dans les *Actes de Pilate*” in *La littérature apocryphe chrétienne et les Ecritures juives* (éd. R. Gounelle, B. Mounier; Publications de l'Institut Romand des Sciences Bibliques 7; Prahins: Editions du Zèbre, 2015), 181-192.

² A similar situation is found for Ezra-Nehemiah if one accepts that 1 Esdras is in fact the Old Greek equivalent of this book. In any case, the “Septuagint” of Ezra-Nehemiah (2 Esdras) belongs to the Theodotonic group. The case of Job is rather different: most Septuagint manuscripts offer the Old Greek to which fragments of “Theodotion” have been added where the Greek version seemed to be lacking. See P. J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SCS 38; Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1995), 390.

or Aquila are the very first ones that were produced.³ Naturally, it is these versions that survived until today. Apart from such special cases, however, only fragments of the minor versions were preserved.⁴

Their shattered attestation impedes the analysis of these versions. Much of a researcher's energy is taken up by the need to gather and sift the evidence, and then to present it in a clear way which nevertheless respects the uncertainties surrounding it. When all these more or less mechanical operations have been carried out, little time and energy remains to study the exegetical principles involved in the later versions. What do they set out to achieve? And why do they diverge from the Septuagint, to which they all relate as much as to their Hebrew source texts? Few global studies have addressed such questions.⁵ There remains a place, therefore, for smaller-scale in-depth studies addressing single passages. The intention of the present paper is precisely this: to provide a number of philological and exegetical remarks on a single rendering reported from the margins of Septuagint manuscripts and attested also by a Church Father. The remarks will draw on what is known about the minor versions, but, it is hoped, will also contribute to their study by adding new observations.

*

In a reading reported in the second apparatus to the Göttingen edition of Genesis, the verb συνετίζω “to render (the eyes) intelligent” is substituted for διανοιγνυμι “to open (the eyes)” in two verses:

Gen 3:5

כִּי יֵדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי בַיּוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקַחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם

“for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened”

³ Some of these late and ultra-literal versions were nevertheless revised according to even stricter rules of literalism. See notably Peter Gentry's studies on “Septuagint” and Aquila of Ecclesiastes, e.g. “Issues in the Text-History of LXX Ecclesiastes,” in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*, – Wuppertal, 23. – 27.7.2008 (edited by Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Kärner; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 201-222.

⁴ The fragments are gathered in the works of Bernard de Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt* (Paris, 1715), conveniently accessible in the reprint in PG 15, and Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, vols. 1–2* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875). On plans and preparations for a new collection, see A. Salvesen, “A ‘New Field’ for the Twenty-First Century? Rationale for the Hexapla Project and a Report on Its Progress” in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions. Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot* (ed. by Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano Morales; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 286-310.

⁵ See the exemplary study of Alison Salvesen, *Symmachos in the Pentateuch* (JSS Monographs 15; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991).

LXX

ἦδαι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐν ἧ ἡμέρᾳ φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, διανοιχθήσονται ὁμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί

“for God knew that on the day you would eat of it, your eyes would be opened”

Second apparatus

διανοιχθήσονται] θ' συνετισθήσονται *s*⁻¹³⁰ (M, 135)⁶

“(... your eyes) will be rendered intelligent”

Gen 3:7

וַתִּפְתָּחַנָּה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיָּדְעוּ כִּי עֲרֻמָּם הֵם

“Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked”

LXX

καὶ διηνοιχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο, καὶ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι γυμνοὶ ἦσαν

“And the eyes of the two were opened, and they knew that they were naked”

Second apparatus

διηνοιχθησαν] θ' συνετίσθησαν M 343(s nom)-344'

“(the eyes of the two) were rendered intelligent...”

1. ATTRIBUTION

A first question these readings raise is which translation they reflect. The problem of attribution affects many readings of the Three. When a reading is attributed to a single version, and appears to reflect the typology of that version as far as it is known, the identification will be widely accepted. But many readings are attributed to different versions by different sources, or do not seem to fit the profile of the version to which they are ascribed. Many readings are transmitted without attribution. Some of these problems indeed come up in regard to the variant readings involving συνετίζω in Gen 3:5, 7.

The readings are attributed to Theodotion in the margin of a number of minuscules in verse 5, and in the margin of other minuscules as well as the Codex Coislianus 1 in verse 7. This information is recorded in the Göttingen edition of Genesis, with the further indication that ms. 342 has the reading *sine nomine*. Montfaucon and Field, however, in their editions of the remains

⁶ The reading is transmitted with a few variants (συνετίσθησαν, συνετίσθητε), which are almost certainly simple mistakes.

of the Hexapla, noted that the readings are attributed to Symmachus in the eleventh book of the *Hexaemeron* of Anastasius of Sinai, an author of the seventh century.⁷ They quote this source from a manuscript, but the work has recently been edited for the first time and is now accessible to all.⁸

There are different ways to resolve these conflicting indications. The alternative readings may have been found in both Theodotion and Symmachus, as Montfaucon indeed conjectures.⁹ However, since no source attributes the readings to both versions, it seems more likely that one of the two attributions is in error. As was seen above, John Wevers privileges the information transmitted in the margins of Septuagint manuscripts. Alison Salvesen, in her excellent study of Symmachus in the Pentateuch, appears to follow Wevers, for she does not include the readings in her book. No doubt the plurality of Septuagint manuscripts attesting the attribution to Theodotion has weighed heavily on their decision. Perhaps also the late date of Anastasius played a role.

Nevertheless, one cannot refrain from observing that the attitude toward the process of translation that transpires from the renderings is more typical of Symmachus than Theodotion. Theodotion is known for strict, sometimes pedantic, adherence to the Hebrew source text. One wonders why he would have diverged from the Septuagint reading at all: διανοιχθήσονται and διηνοίχθησαν are perfectly good renderings of the Hebrew words in the source text. Moreover, in all other passages where the Theodotionic equivalent of the Hebrew verb פקח is known, it is ἀνοίγνυμι or διανοίγνυμι.¹⁰ It is true that “Theodotion” is not a unified label. In different books it may correspond to versions of different dates and backgrounds.¹¹ It is also true, however, that within the entire Theodotion family, a high degree of lexical stereotyping obtains. These considerations make the attribution to Theodotion unlikely.

Symmachus, for his part, is much better known for creative interpretations. Examples in the creation story are the rendering of מות תמות “dying you will die (on the day you eat of the fruit of the tree)” in Gen 2:17 as θνητὸς

⁷ Anastasius of Sinai, *Hexaemeron*, XI, I, 1 ὁ Σύμμαχος εἰς τὸ Διανοιχθήσονται, συνετισθήσονται τέθεικεν. Ὅμοίως καὶ εἰς τὸ Διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν δύο, συνετίσθησαν εἴρηκε, τουτέστιν ἐσορίσθησαν καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἦλθον...

⁸ C. Kuehn, John Baggarly, S.J., eds., *Anastasius of Sinai: Hexaemeron* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 278; Rome: PIB, 2007).

⁹ Montfaucon, PG 15, 176: “forte est utriusque.”

¹⁰ See the asterisked portion of Job 27:19; Dan 9:18 θ’; as well as the verses that occur in the *kaige* sections of Kings: 2 Kgs 4:35; 6:17, 20; 19:16. Similarly Aquila in Ps 146/145:8.

¹¹ See e.g. P. Gentry, “New Ultra-Literal Translation Techniques in *kaige*-Theodotion and Aquila,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint* (edited by E. Bons and J. Joosten; LXX.H 3; Gütersloh, Gütersloher, 2016), 202-220.

ἔσῃ “you will become mortal”, and the translation of “See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil” in Gen 3:22 as ἴδε ὁ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὁμοῦ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν “see, Adam has altogether become one to know good and evil of himself.” These renderings respond to famous exegetical problems in the passages concerned, and find echoes in other ancient translations and commentaries. Precisely such a rendering is what we find in Gen 3:5, 7. In light of these considerations, Anastasius’s attribution seems on balance more probable.

2. THE BIBLICAL BACKGROUND OF THE VERB ΣΥΝΕΤΙΖΩ

As a rule, readings from the later versions are transmitted only if they diverge from the Septuagint. Many typical words of the Three are rare or unattested in the Septuagint. This does not mean their vocabulary is wholly original. On the contrary, in many instances, one observes that a reading in the *recentiores* links up lexically with words of the Septuagint, either words used *in loco* or, more often, elsewhere in the Greek version.¹² Whether one thinks of the later versions as recensions of the Septuagint or new translations, they certainly interact with the Old Greek version and are in constant conversation with it. The link to the Septuagint is particularly clear in the readings in Gen 3:5, 7.

The verb συνετίζω occurs 13 times in the Septuagint, and is attested also for the minor Greek versions. In addition it is found a few times in non-canonical writings dependent on the Septuagint. Absent from the New Testament, it makes a modest comeback in patristic Greek, both in quotations from the Septuagint and in original writing.¹³ The verb is wholly unattested in ancient Greek writings that are neither Jewish nor Christian. It is not found in inscriptions and documentary papyri. Although its distribution alone does not suffice to argue that συνετίζω is a *vox biblica*, a closer look at some of its earliest attestations suggests that it is. Notably, the verb is used seven times in the Septuagint of Psalms to render the *hiphil* of בִּין “to understand”:

¹² Another case illustrating how the vocabulary of the Three relates to that of the Septuagint is discussed in J. Joosten, “Source-language Oriented Remarks on the Lexicography of the Greek Versions of the Bible,” *ETHL* 81 (2005): 152-164.

¹³ See J. Joosten, “The verb συνετίζω ‘to instruct’ in the Septuagint Psalms and beyond,” in “*Må de nu förklara...*” *Om bibeltexter, religion, literature. Festschrift för Staffan Olofsson* (edited by Rosmari Lillas-Schuil et al.; Göteborg: LIR, 2018), 105-113.

Ps 118/119:27

Make me understand (הִבִּינֵנִי, συνέτισόν με) the way of your precepts.¹⁴

Within the Septuagint, συνετίζω does not occur in the Pentateuch. In fact, apart from Psalms, it is found only in translation units associated with the Theodotionic school.¹⁵ This means the occurrences in Psalms are likely the oldest ones in the Septuagintal corpus. The question arises, then, whether the Psalms translator may not have coined the verb in imitation of the Hebrew *hiphil*: just as הִבִּינֵנִי is causative in relation to בִּינֵנִי, so συνετίζω is causative in relation to συνίημι, the usual equivalent of בִּינֵנִי. The hypothesis cannot be proven, and the absence of συνετίζω in non-biblical Greek may be due to the vagaries of attestation. Even if this is so, however, the frequency of the verb in the biblical corpus needs to be explained. From obscure origins in native Greek, the verb rose to prominence only in the biblical tradition.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the marginal reading on Gen 3:5, 7, although diverging from the Septuagint in those verses, is rooted in Septuagintal tradition. To a Jewish reader, the verb would have a biblical ring, and perhaps even evoke specific passages such as Ps 118/119:27 quoted above.

3. THE EXEGETICAL RATIONALE

Much of what is contained in the Three is of an exegetical nature. It is profitable to distinguish two types of interpretation, each of which plays a large part, although in different proportions, in the various later translations: linguistic exegesis, and contextual exegesis. The Three had a different understanding of Hebrew from the Seventy, and many passages had come to be explained differently in Jewish circles by the time the minor versions were produced. Although the renderings in Gen 3:5, 7 consist of a single word, they may correspond at once to linguistic and contextual issues.

A contextual factor is the figurative meaning of the “opening of the eyes” in Gen 3. Nothing indicates that the eyes of the first-created man and woman are closed, literally, when the serpent speaks to the woman of the benefits of the tree. In Gen 3:6 it is told that the woman “saw that the tree was good” well before eating from its fruit. Manifestly, the phrases “your eyes will be opened” and “their eyes were opened” are not to be taken literally. What is meant is that through the act of eating they will gain a different understanding

¹⁴ See also Ps 118/119:34, 73, 125, 130, 144, 169.

¹⁵ See in more detail, Joosten, “The verb συνετίζω.”

of their situation—a better one according to the snake, although not necessarily according to the narrator. In light of this figurative meaning, the rendering “to be made intelligent” makes excellent sense. A similar operation appears to underlie Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, where the occurrence of פָּקַח in Gen 3:7 was rendered not with the literal פָּתַח “to open”, as in Onkelos, but as אֶתְנַהֵר “to be illuminated”.

Whether the contextual factor was the only one motivating the rendering is doubtful, however. The figurative sense obtaining in Gen 3:5, 7 is a frequent one, and in other passages where it is found the Greek versions render it literally.¹⁶ In addition to the figurative meaning, a purely linguistic reason may have been at work. A different understanding of the Hebrew verb פָּקַח may have triggered the rendering. While in Biblical Hebrew פָּקַח almost always refers to the opening of eyes, literally or figuratively, in post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic the root also acquires other meanings, notably: “to open the mind, to make open-minded.”¹⁷ The adjective פָּקִיחַ means “seeing” in BH, but “bright, intelligent” in later Hebrew. The reviser who used συνετίζω appears to have been familiar with this later meaning, which he found congenial to the passage in Gen 3. A similar interpretation of the root פָּקַח is found once in the Septuagint:

Ps 146:8 MT

יְהוָה פָּקַח עֵינָיו

The LORD opens (the eyes) of the blind.

Ps 145:8 LXX

κύριος σοφοῖ τυφλοῦς

The Lord makes the blind skilled.

The meaning of the Hebrew text in this Psalm is that God will give sight to the blind. The Greek translation “he will make the blind wise” diverges from the source text because the Hebrew verb was understood differently. The rendering in Psalm 146/145:8 makes it all the more certain that the marginal rendering of Gen 3:5, 7 is not simply contextual but has a linguistic basis too.

That Symmachus sometimes bases his renderings on Aramaic or late Hebrew was already pointed out by Geiger.¹⁸

¹⁶ See Gen 21:19; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; Prov 20:13. Note, however, that the Aramaic Targums do generally offer distinct renderings for the figurative passages.

¹⁷ See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London: Luzac, 1903).

¹⁸ A. Geiger, “Symmachus der Uebersetzer der Bibel,” *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 1 (1862), 39-64, in particular 61; see also A.-F. Loiseau, *L'influence De L'araméen*

4. THE TRANSLATION OF IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

A last point concerns the translation technique that transpires in the marginal readings to Gen 3:5, 7. The rendering with συνετίζω, although contextually motivated, is somewhat jarring because the subject of the verb are the eyes: “*your eyes* will be made intelligent.” The Greek phrase would seem to conflate the literal and figurative meaning of the Hebrew text. Literally, the text of Genesis refers to the “opening of the eyes”, but the contextual implication is one of intellectual perception. “Your eyes will be opened” means: “you will be made intelligent.” The marginal reading, however, implies “your eyes will be made intelligent.”

In this conflation of literal and figurative meanings, Symmachus echoes a technique that is used rather often in the Septuagint. In an earlier publication I have pointed out that idiomatic expressions are translated in the Septuagint in one of three ways: literally, figuratively, or with a combination of the literal and the figurative meaning.¹⁹ For example, the Hebrew phrase ישר בעיני פלוני “to be straight in one’s eyes,” meaning “it pleases one,” may be rendered literally:

1 Sam 18:26 εὐθύνηθη ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Δαυιδ
the matter was made straight in the eyes of David

or freely:

1 Kgs 9:12 οὐκ ἤρεσαν αὐτῷ
they did not please him

or, as happens rather often, in a mixture of literal and free:

Judg 14:3 ἤρεσεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου
she was pleasing *in my eyes*

The rendering in Gen 3:5, 7 resembles this last technique. This resemblance tends to show that the later translator linked up with the Septuagint not only in the choice of the verb συνετίζω, but also in the translation technique.

Sur Les Traducteurs De La LXX Principalement, Sur Les Traducteurs Grecs Postérieurs, Ainsi Que Sur Les Scribes De La Vorlage De La Vorlage de la LXX (SCS 65; Atlanta: SBL, 2016), 221-222.

¹⁹ See J. Joosten, “Translating the Untranslatable: Septuagint Renderings of Hebrew Idioms,” in “*Translation Is Required*”: *The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect* (ed. R. Hiebert; SCS 56; Atlanta: SBL, 2010), 59-70.

CONCLUSIONS

The rendering of the phrase “to open (the eyes)” in Gen 3:5, 7 as “to render (the eyes) intelligent” can with some probability be attributed to Symmachus, in spite of the attribution to Theodotion in codex M and some later Septuagint manuscripts. Using the verb συνερίζω instead of the Old Greek δαυνοίγνυμι, the later translator links up with typical Septuagint vocabulary. Similarly, the combination of literal and free translation harks back to Septuagintal models. The exegetical motivation of the rendering may be complex, with the change in meaning of the Hebrew verb פקח, from “to open” to “to make open-minded” playing an important part.

These conclusions may not be earthshattering, but to those who are interested in the Septuagint and its vocabulary they are still worthwhile. They confirm and deepen our appreciation of the later Greek versions. They also illustrate the inner life of the Greek Bible, whose textual history was in constant contact with the Hebrew source text yet not indentured to it in the updating of its message.

JAN JOOSTEN

Regius Professor of Hebrew, Christ Church

OX1 1DP, Oxford, Great Britain

jan.joosten@orinst.ox.ac.uk

“You Shall Observe His Heel”: On the Use of Τηρέω in Greek Genesis 3:15b

Gregory R. LANIER

ABSTRACT

This critical note examines the seemingly odd use of τηρέω to translate שׂר in the second half of Genesis 3:15, which has often been neglected in discussions of this famous verse. It examines the tradeoffs navigated by the translator—chiefly, preserving lexical isomorphism or preserving meaning—as well as the appropriateness of the word chosen.

A. INTRODUCTION

הוא יִשׁוּפֶךְ רֹאשׁ Gen 3:15b¹ αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν,
וְאַתָּה תִּשׁוּפְנוּ עֲקֵב καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν

He will _____ your head, and you will _____ his heel.

For a verse of such tremendous significance in both Jewish and Christian reception history, filling in the above blanks for the second half of Gen 3:15 has proven surprisingly difficult. What is the “seed of the woman” doing, and what is the “serpent” doing in return?—given that a single verb is repeated for both subjects in each textual tradition. The meaning of the Hebrew verb (שׂר) is itself problematic, and for those who are accustomed to seeing “crush,” “bruise,” or “strike” in the blanks, “the reason for the use of τηρέω in the LXX is not obvious.”² This is the only occurrence of the verb in the Greek Pentateuch, and—based on what it normally means—its appearance here seems quite unusual.³

¹ Hebrew from BHS. Greek from John W. Wevers, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. 1: *Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

² John Ronning, “*The Curse on the Serpent (Genesis 3:15) in Biblical Theology and Hermeneutics*”, Ph.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1997, 13.

³ Robert Hayward comments, “The Greek translation using that verb is by no means straightforward, either as a direct rendering of the Hebrew...or as a piece of Greek whose sense is clear and unambiguous”. “Guarding Head and Heel: Observations on Septuagint Genesis 3:15,” in Jeremy Corley and Vincent Skemp (eds.), *Studies in the Greek Bible*:

However, the vast majority of scholarly work on Gen 3:15 has focused on whether the “seed” of the first half of the verse is a messianic figure, which would make this verse a kind of *Protevangelium*.⁴ Consequently, the odd translation pairing (σπέρμα–τηρέω) in the second half has been relatively overlooked. Among major works on Greek Genesis, the use of τηρέω in 3:15b has received no attention by some⁵ or only passing remarks by others.⁶ This study hopes to help fill this lacuna by analyzing the translational decisions navigated by the Greek translator at Gen 3:15b. I will argue that the translator, in order to mirror the double use of the same verb in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, has picked a verb that can work for both subjects involved (preserving isomorphism), but has made a resulting tradeoff by shifting the meaning. It is still, however, a sophisticated lexical choice that greatly influenced downstream reception.

Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac (CBQ.MS 44; Washington D.C.: Catholic Bible Association, 2008), 17–34: 22.

⁴ Other than standard commentaries, see Alfons Schulz, “Nachlese zu Gn 3,15,” *BZ* 24 (1939), 343–56; Johann Michl, “Der Weibessame (Gen 3,15) in spätjüdischer und frühchristlicher Auffassung (I),” *Bib* 33 (1952), 371–401; Renée Laurentin, “L’interprétation de Genèse 3.15 dans la tradition jusqu’au début du XIII^e siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Études Mariales* 12 (1954): 77–156; R.A. Martin, “The Earliest Messianic Interpretation of Genesis 3:15,” *JBL* 84 (1965), 425–27; Walter Wifall, “Gen 3:15—A Protevangelium?,” *CBQ* 36 (1974), 361–65; Ronning, “Curse”; John Collins, “A Syntactical Note (Genesis 3:15): Is the Woman’s Seed Singular or Plural?,” *TynBul* 48 (1997), 139–48; Johann Lust, “Septuagint and Messianism, with Special Emphasis on the Pentateuch,” Pages 129–151 in *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays* (BETL 178; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 142–43.

⁵ No mention is made in Moshe A. Zipor, “Some Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis in the Common Editions,” *BIOCS* 35 (2002): 121–26; Susan Brayford, *Genesis* (SCS; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 240–41; Peter Prestel and Stefan Schorch, “Genesis: Das Erste Buch Mose,” in Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterung und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament, Band I: Genesis bis Makkabäer* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 145–257; Mark Scarlata, “Genesis” in James Aitken (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 12–25. Furthermore, though they often include footnotes on readings elsewhere, the modern translations LXX.D (Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus [eds.], *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009]), NETS (Robert Hiebert, “Genesis,” Pages 1–42 in Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright [eds.], *New English Translation of the Septuagint* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007]), and LBG (Natalio Fernández Marcos et al. [eds.], *La Biblia Griega Septuaginta, I: El Pentateuco* [BEB 125; Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2008]) include none for Gen 3:15b.

⁶ Chiefly: a few comments in Schulz, “Nachlese”; a tabulation of variant readings in Monique Alexandre, *Le Commencement du Livre: Genèse I–V. La Version grecque de la Septante et sa réception* (CA 3; Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 316; three sentences in John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), 44; and a couple comments on LXX vs. Vulgate in Marguerite Harl, *La Bible d’Alexandrie. 1: La Genèse* (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 329 (BdA). The only substantial treatment is Hayward’s (cited above), which is addressed in note 13 below.

To set up the analysis of the translational strategy, we must first examine the two halves of the equation: the Greek word choice and the underlying Hebrew.

B. CHALLENGES WITH THE GREEK WORD CHOICE

Meaning. Upon an initial read of Greek Gen 3:15b, the repeated use of *τηρέω* does not seem to convey the negative sense of violent hostility that is typically associated with the verse; as Hayward observes, *τηρέω* “most often signifies...a good sense.”⁷ The lexicons provide a variety of glosses that fit into two positive categories:⁸

Observe visually	watch for, watch over, heed, keep watch, pay attention, keep an eye on, remain alert for, notice
Guard protectively	protect, take care of, conserve, fulfill, keep, take care of, conduct oneself in accordance with, retain

Modern attempts to translate *τηρέω* in Gen 3:15b include the following: NETS “watch”; LXX.D “auflauern” (lie in wait for, ambush); BdA “guet-tera” (watch out for); LBG “acechara” (spy on, watch); Brayford “watch for”;⁹ Brenton “watch against”;¹⁰ Wevers “watch carefully”;¹¹ and Michl “beobachten” (observe).¹² One is struck by the wide variability, with some agreeing closely with the lexicons and others taking more liberty.

Rarity. A complicating factor is that *τηρέω* is not used elsewhere in the Greek Pentateuch.¹³ It is not an obscure word, appearing around thirty times elsewhere in the Greek OT (often translating שׁמר),¹⁴ fifty times in Philo and

⁷ Hayward, “Guarding”, 22n19.

⁸ LSJ 1789; Franco Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (trans. Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 2113; Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 678 (GELS); Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 475 (LEH).

⁹ *Genesis*, 41.

¹⁰ Lancelot Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011 [= 1851]).

¹¹ *Notes*, 44.

¹² Michl, “Weibessame” 388.

¹³ According to the reconstructed Göttingen text. It is a variant reading at Gen 17:9–10, Exod 34:7, and Lev 19:18, but in none of these cases does it have a strong claim to originality.

¹⁴ This association of *τηρέω* with שׁמר leads Hayward to suggest that the translator has used *τηρέω* in order to cast Gen 3:15 as “a sophisticated, if understated, meditation on...keeping and not keeping God’s commandments” (“Guarding,” 22). He attempts to prove this via the

Josephus, seventy times in the Greek NT, and over fifteen hundred times in classical and Hellenistic Greek.¹⁵ Also, the compound διατηρέω is used in Gen 17:9, 17:10, and 37:11. Thus, τηρέω was certainly familiar for the translator, but we have nothing from this translator with which to compare Gen 3:15b.

Alternatives. Due to these challenges, there have been two suggestions that τηρέω is not the original Greek reading. (i) Vossius postulates that the original is τρήσει(ς), from τρέω, which he renders *perforo* (pierce).¹⁶ However, the lexicons disagree with his take on τρέω (rather: “fear, be in dread of”),¹⁷ and there is no positive evidence for his conjecture. (ii) Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie offer for Gen 3:15b, “corr.? τειρήσει *he will bruise, he will break*.”¹⁸ That is, the original is τείρω, the future form of which, by ει—η itacism, was mistaken by a scribe as τρήσει(ς). This suggestion is undermined by three factors: the only extant corroboration is the Complutensian Polyglot; τείρω is “used only in pres. and impf.”;¹⁹ and τείρω appears nowhere else in the Greek OT, NT, Philo, or Josephus, and it is rare among the church fathers.

Ultimately, there is little reason to doubt the originality of τηρέω, which normally conveys a positive sense of watchful observation or protective guarding.

We are faced with similar challenges on the Hebrew side, to which we turn.

C. CHALLENGES WITH THE UNDERLYING HEBREW

Meaning. Many scholars admit that the meaning of שך is “extraordinarily problematic” and “cannot be explained satisfactorily.”²⁰ Gesenius

Palestinian targums, which indeed feature extensive insertions related to keeping the Torah. However, these are *additions* and not *glosses/translations* of the Hebrew verbal action (between the “seed” and the “serpent”), so they are irrelevant to understanding the Greek translator’s decision. Nothing about Gen 3:15b suggests that Torah-keeping is in view with τηρέω (especially for the serpent!).

¹⁵ Per *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).

¹⁶ Isaac Vossius, *De Septuaginta Interpretibus, eorumque Tralatione et Chronologia Dissertationes* (Adriani Vlacq, 1661), 32–3.

¹⁷ LSJ 1815; Montanari, *Dictionary*, 2142.

¹⁸ LEH 475; “corr.” denotes that “the Greek word found in the manuscripts printed in Rahlfs may be corrupt. It may have to be replaced by the following Greek word which gives a better rendition of the Hebrew” (LEH v). This conjectured reading is unusual, for τείρω typically means “oppress, distress, weaken, ruin, exhaust, torment” (LSJ 1766; Brill 2091).

¹⁹ LSJ 1766; Montanari, *Dictionary*, 2091; this is confirmed with TLG, which lists 60 occurrences, none future.

²⁰ Respectively, Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC 1; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 80; Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis* (trans. John H. Marks; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 90.

offers “gape upon, lie in wait for” as a gloss but immediately qualifies it by admitting, “the above explanation of Gen. 3:15, is purely neologian...*bruise* is the simple meaning in each part of the verse.”²¹ DCH offers five glosses, three of which—crush/break, graze/rub, spy/watch—may fit for Gen 3:15b.²² (However, it seems *τηρέω* may be influencing DCH for spy/watch.)

The key issue is this: does the verb mean the same thing for both subjects—the human “seed” and the serpent—in the verse? Can a serpent without legs (Gen 3:14) “trample” or “crush” a man’s heel? Can a man “strike” a serpent? Some scholars argue that the meaning of the first occurrence necessarily differs from the second, while others argue that they mean the same thing both times;²³ this divide, in turn, influences both ancient²⁴ and modern translations.²⁵

Rarity. In pre-rabbinic Hebrew שָׁח only occurs elsewhere in Ps 139:11, Job 9:17, and CD 11.4. One is struck by the differences of each: darkness and storm are the subjects of the verb in the psalm and Job, respectively, and in CD someone is being “rubbed” with incense. Notably, early OT translators interpret these other instances of שָׁח as an act of physical violence: LXX καταπατέω (trample), Vg *operio* (cover, bury), and Tg חבֵּרֵבֵר (blind) for Ps 139:11; LXX ἐκτρίβω (destroy, rub out), Vg *contero* (bruise, crush), and Tg דִּקְדֵּק (crush) for Job 9:17.

Alternatives. In light of these difficulties, some scholars have postulated that the Genesis translator was reacting to a different Hebrew word (e.g., via a different *Vorlage*, misunderstanding, or etymological exegesis). (i) The verb שָׁפַח has occasionally been mentioned,²⁶ but in classical Hebrew it means “make level” or “sweep bare,” which is hardly relevant here. (ii) Other options

²¹ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (trans. Benjamin Davies; 14th ed.; London: Bagster and Sons, 1846), 811.

²² DCH 8:308–9.

²³ The former include Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Continental Commentary* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 259–60; John Skinner, *Genesis* (2nd ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: Scribner’s, 1910), 81. The latter include Wenham, *Genesis*, 45; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1–17* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 195. Von Rad is open to either (*Genesis*, 90). Gesenius proposes that the second occurrence was perhaps more akin to שָׁחַף (gasp, pant after), but this hypothesis is no longer supported by most scholars (and it would not illumine the Greek translation regardless).

²⁴ As we will see below.

²⁵ See Marten Woudstra, “Recent Translations of Genesis 3:15,” *CTJ* 6 (1971): 194–203; Hans Rüger, “On Some Versions of Gen 3:15, Ancient and Modern,” *TBT* 27 (1976), 105–10.

²⁶ Alison Salvesen includes שָׁפַח as one of the “different possible meanings of the root שָׁח,” referencing the Arabic cognate (*Symmachus in the Pentateuch* [JJS 15; Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1991], 14). John Parkhurst, in fact, finds this verb at Gen 3:15 in one of the manuscripts of the Kennicott collection (*An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points* [London: Rivington, 1823], 721).

put forward are צָפַן (lie hidden), צִפּה (keep watch, spy out), and שׁוּר (behold, watch carefully).²⁷ The first is only rarely used transitively (as here) in the OT; none of them bear any clear lexical relationship with שׁוּךְ; and none appear to be translated elsewhere with τηρέω.²⁸ All three suggestions, though possible, are not compelling in the absence of any concrete evidence.

In short, there is no reason to doubt that the Greek translator was attempting faithfully to render a *Vorlage* that read שׁוּךְ twice in Gen 3:15b, once for each subject. And though many questions remain, שׁוּךְ most likely connotes a violent physical action (e.g., bruise).

D. THE TRANSLATOR'S TRADEOFF

In light of the preceding, it seems the Greek translator was confronted with an interesting puzzle that still vexes modern translators of Hebrew Gen 3:15b: how to translate a verb that connotes violent action and is used for *both* the human “seed” and the serpent? There are basically two options: (i) preserve the sense of violent action but use two (or more) different words that are more appropriate for each subject; or (ii) preserve isomorphism, rendering each instance of שׁוּךְ with the same Greek verb while possibly shifting the meaning.

Option (i) is chosen by several early translators of the Hebrew:²⁹

	First verb (human “seed”)		Second verb (serpent)	
Vulgate	contero	bruise, crush, grind	insidio	ambush, assault
Peshitta	dwš	crush, trample	mhy	strike
Tg. Neof. and Fr. Tg.	מחי	crush, strike, wound	נכת	bite
Pent.	קטל	kill	מרע	make ill
Tg. Ps.-Jon.	מחי	crush, strike, wound	נכת	bite

²⁷ The first and second are suggested in the first edition of *Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint/Scriptural Study* (Emanuel Tov and Robert Kraft, 1995); the third is found in the revised edition (Tov and F.H. Polak, 2005).

²⁸ צָפַן (used transitively) is elsewhere translated with ἀποβλέπω (e.g., Ps 10:8[9:29]), κατακρύπτω (e.g., Ps 56[55]:7), and κρύπτω (Prov 1:11). צִפּה is elsewhere translated ἐπιδίδωμι (e.g., Gen 31:49), σκοπεύω (e.g., 1 Sam/Kgdms 4:13), σκοπός (e.g., Isa 21:6), ἐφοράω (e.g., Jer 48:19), ἐπιβλέπω (e.g., Mic 7:7), ἀποσκοπεύω (e.g., Hab 2:1), κατανοέω (e.g., Ps 37[36]:32). שׁוּר is elsewhere translated with προσνοέω (e.g., Num 23:9), πυκάζω (Hos 14:9), περιβλέπομαι (Job 7:8), and ὁράω (e.g., Job 17:15).

²⁹ Irenaeus also uses two different verbs in *Haer.* 3.23.7: *calco* (trample) and *mordeo* (bite).

In each case different words of violence are chosen in order to bring out such a sense for $\eta\psi$, with the first being more natural for what a human could do to a serpent, and vice versa. The tradeoff is that the repetition of the same verb in the Hebrew is lost. It is also interesting that the Peshitta and targums use the same root ($m\dot{h}y$) but for different subjects (for the serpent in the Peshitta, for the human in the targums).

In contrast, the Greek Genesis translator chooses option (ii) by repeating $\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (prioritizing a one-for-one strategy over strict adherence to the meaning of $\eta\psi$), while introducing a sense of “watching” or “guarding” to the passage. This decision influences a number of downstream tradents that rely exclusively on this Greek tradition and, thus, render Gen 3:15b with the same verb for both subjects—either retaining $\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ or choosing something with a similar meaning. These include Vetus Latina (*servo*, watch),³⁰ Philo ($\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, *Leg.* 3.188), *Apoc. Moses* 26 ($\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$), Cyprian (*observo*, watch/observe, *Ad Quir.* 2.9),³¹ Epiphanius ($\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, guard, *Pan.* 1.37.8), Didymus the Blind ($\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$),³² and Gregory Nazianzus ($\tau\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, *Orat.* 14.21.67–68).

This dual tradeoff is further crystallized when we examine tradents who likely had access to *both* Hebrew and Greek traditions. Each appears to correct the Greek of Gen 3:15b back to the more explicit sense of violent conflict connoted by the Hebrew:³³ Aquila ($\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$, inflict), Symmachus ($\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$, afflict), Jerome in his commentary on Genesis (*contero*, bruise/crush/grind),³⁴ Codex Coislianus ($\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$, bruise),³⁵ and Graecus Venetus ($\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\sigma\omega$, strike).³⁶ To this list we might add the Apostle Paul, who reads $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$ (trample/crush) in Rom 16:20a, the only potential allusion to Gen 3:15b in the NT.³⁷

³⁰ Which, recall, mostly used a Greek *Vorlage* rather than Hebrew.

³¹ He is likely using an old Latin text, though note the variation to Vetus Latina.

³² Pierre Nautin (ed.), *Didyme L'Aveugle: Sur la Genèse* (Sources Chrétiennes 233; Paris: Cerf, 1976), 1:230.

³³ We could also include Josephus: his allusion to Gen 3:15b reflects the Hebrew more than the Greek ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, *Ant.* 1.50).

³⁴ *Quaes. Hebr. ad Gen.* (PL 23:991C); he repeats the same verb for both subjects at this earlier stage, but as shown above he uses separate verbs for the Vulgate.

³⁵ This codex, denoted M in Göttingen, is a 7th-century manuscript containing hexaplaric readings. Frederick Field observes that the name of the person giving this reading is erased in the margin (*Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Volume 1: Prolegomena. Genesis-Esther* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1875], 16n14).

³⁶ Also known as Codex Marcianus gr. 7. The manuscript dates from the 14th century and is considered a very wooden recension, probably of Jewish origin, of a prior Greek exemplar.

³⁷ Space does not permit engaging in the long-standing debate about whether Rom 16:20a is or is not an allusion to Gen 3:15b; commentators are evenly divided. For a helpful analysis of how Paul may, in this verse, be sharing earlier Jewish exegetical tradition with Aquila, see

In sum, nearly all of the reception-history of Gen 3:15b take it as conveying violent conflict between the human “seed” and the serpent—often choosing two different verbs to pick this up rather than repeating a single verb, as in the Hebrew. The exception is the Greek Genesis translator, who made the opposite tradeoff and, in turn, influenced numerous others afterwards. But why τηρέω?

E. THE SPECIFIC SELECTION OF ΤΗΡΕΩ

Numerous verbs would have been candidates for the Greek Genesis translator’s strategy of giving a one-to-one rendering that was appropriate for both the human and the serpent. As shown above, τηρέω seems an unusual choice given its typically positive sense. However, upon closer inspection it fits well.

The main verbs in Gen 3:15b do not by themselves bear the load of conveying a negative confrontation between the two subjects, for the “enmity” of 3:15a has already cast it in such terms. In other words, if the *context is already one of hostility*, the translator has more options on the table. While τηρέω is usually positive by itself, it can be used for a suspicious or militant kind of “observing” or “watching” *in certain contexts*, which is provided by the first half of the verse in this case.³⁸

Two uses of τηρέω elsewhere in the Greek OT corroborate this pattern.³⁹ In 2 Esdras 8:29, the priests are instructed to “guard and watch” (ἀγρυπνεῖτε καὶ τηρεῖτε) the holy vessels from attack; in OG Dan 6:12, Daniel’s opponents seek to capture Daniel and, thus, “watch” (ἐτήρησαν) him suspiciously for the opportune moment. In both cases, τηρέω might seem out of place if not for a context that is already framed as one of hostility or danger.

Philo and Didymus show awareness of this as well. Philo discusses at length the more positive sense of τηρέω in Gen 3:15b, but then notes that there is an alternative sense to the word: τὸ δὲ τηρήσει δύο δηλοῖ· ἐν μὲν τὸ οἶον διαφυλάξει καὶ διασώσει, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἴσον τῷ ἐπιτηρήσει πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν (*Leg.* 3.189). The first sense is that of saving/preserving, but the second is “equivalent to ‘he will watch for the purpose of destroying/killing.’”

Jan Dochhorn, “Paulus und die polyglotte Schriftgelehrsamkeit seiner Zeit: eine Studie zu den exegetischen Hintergründen von Röm 16,20a”, *ZNW* 98 [2007], 189–212.

³⁸ Thus, NETS of Gen 3:15b is correct for the word in isolation (“watch”), but LXX.D, BdA, and LBG are better for the word in this particular context (*auf lauern, guettera, acechará*, respectively).

³⁹ Offered by Muraoka in his parenthetical gloss on τηρέω (GELS 678).

Didymus, in a similar way, admits that usually the verb carries a sense of “to guard and protect” (τὸ διατηρῆσαι...καὶ σκεπάσαι), but here it conveys how the serpent “sets an ambush” (ἐνεδρεῦει) in order to “spy out” (ἐπιτηρῆσαι) the human (and vice versa). Didymus concludes that it is something like φυλάσσω in Ps 56[55]:7.⁴⁰

In short, the Greek Genesis translator navigates the tradeoff by remaining faithful to the repeated verb in the *Vorlage* and selecting a word that works well for both the serpent and the human *in a context already established as hostile*—though introducing a different sense to the passage. Amid the enmity imposed between them by God (Gen 3:15a), the human “seed” and serpent “lie in wait for” or “menacingly observe” one another, prior to any actual violent encounter, with no promise of victory on either side (3:15b). Rather than a mutual infliction of pain, the two antagonists will perpetually spy on one another suspiciously, guarding against the possibility of an attack from the other.

F. CONCLUSIONS

While τηρέω is an unusual choice for rendering הִשָּׂר in itself, it serves quite nicely to retain lexical isomorphism and elucidate a kind of reciprocal enmity from human→serpent *and* serpent→human. The tradeoff is that the Greek rendering gives a different take on this important passage: a standoff of suspicious observation, rather than direct physical violence. Thus, Wevers rightly comments, “The Greek is of no help in understanding the difficult Hebrew verb; it does give us an appreciation for the acumen of the translator.”⁴¹ This maneuver fits with the broader strategy of the Genesis translator:

The Old Greek translation of Genesis maintains a very close lexical and syntactical relationship to the Hebrew parent text. The translator was not slavishly dependent on the Hebrew, but did, at times, depart from the original to produce renderings for stylistic and, perhaps, theological reasons.⁴²

The last portion is worth a final comment. It is not evident that the translator had theological reasons for choosing τηρέω; rather, navigating the translational tradeoff (isomorphism, etc.) seems to be the guiding force. However, the decision may have had downstream theological effects in terms of the ongoing debates about the messianic nature of the verse as a *Protevangelium*.

⁴⁰ Nautin, *Didyme*, 1:236.

⁴¹ *Notes*, 33.

⁴² Scarlata, “Genesis”, 12.

There is nothing overtly eschatological or messianic about “observing” the serpent’s head in some kind of ongoing stalemate; perhaps this explains the relative reticence about the verse in the NT.⁴³ If nothing else, a closer look at this part of the verse may contribute to further discussions about various messianic and non-messianic readings of this key passage.

GREGORY R. LANIER
Reformed Theological Seminary, Orlando
Oviedo, FL, USA
glanier@rts.edu

⁴³ Rom 16:20 shares precisely zero words with the Greek tradition, which is what leads to the debate. Revelation 12 is clearly modeled on the woman, serpent, “seed” paradigm of Genesis 3 but has no explicit echoes of 3:15b.

Observations on the Plague Narrative in Greek Exodus: Strategies Used by the Translator to Shape the Narrative

Larry PERKINS

ABSTRACT

The translator of Greek Exodus employed various strategies to shape the narrative in the target language. These include the use of ἐκδίκησις (7:4; 12:12) to characterize Yahweh's purpose in sending the plagues, the translator's choice of terms to describe Moses' communications ability (4:10; 6:12, 30, and his choice of terms to describe "the plagues" in general, particularly the rendering of דבר as θάνατος. The suggestion is made that in 9:9-10 the translator shows awareness of Thucydides' description of the 5th cent. BCE Athenian plague. Finally, the translator's apparent use of paronomasia and alliteration in 10:5 receives comment. These examples support the hypothesis that this translator is well-educated, demonstrates literary sophistication, is concerned to present Moses in a positive light, and presents the plagues as acts of divine vengeance.

Exodus 7-12 narrates Yahweh's ten, increasingly punitive actions to persuade Pharaoh to send Israel into the desert to worship him. The variations in the length of the accounts and the terminology employed in the Hebrew text for the most part are mirrored in the Greek translation. However, the translator also in some contexts employs transformations of various kinds that nuance the narrative in contrast with the MT. Whether these transformations were already present in the translator's Hebrew text or were alterations made by himself is much discussed. In this paper I have selected contexts in the plague narrative and its prelude where, in my view, the translator is responsible directly for the transformations. I seek to identify a variety of ways in which the translator adjusts and shapes his translated text of the plague narratives, and communicates a somewhat different meaning than the Masoretic Text (MT). In so doing the translator shows how Yahweh delivers Israel "by...a great judgment (ἐν...κρίσει μεγάλη; בשפטים גדלים)" (6:6) and "with great vengeance (συν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλη; בשפטים גדלים)" (7:4; cf. 12:12). What motivates the translator to shape the resultant text in these ways is a matter of speculation, but one or two suggestions will be offered in conclusion.

If this thesis can be demonstrated from the text-linguistic data of LXX Exodus, then this would be another indication that this translator has a larger vision for his work than just producing a Greek crib for the corresponding Hebrew text.

I begin with a broad observation that I form based on the repeated use of ἐκδίκησις in 7:4 and 12:12.

- 7:4 καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσεται ὑμῶν Φαραώ· καὶ ἐπιβαλὼ τὴν χειρὰ μου ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἐξάξω σὺν δυνάμει μου [יְהִי־עַז-תִּקָּ] τὸν λαόν μου τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλῃ [עֲשֶׂה־נִשְׁפָּט]·
- 12:12 καὶ διελεύσομαι ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ πατάξω πᾶν πρωτότοκον ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ποιήσω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν [עֲשֶׂה־נִשְׁפָּט]· ἐγὼ κύριος.

The Hebrew noun נִשְׁפָּט (“judgment” (BDB, 1048))¹ occurs three times in Exodus and always in the plural form. In the first instance (6:6) the translator renders it with κρίσις (“acting as judge” [GELS, 414]; “decision, judgment” [LEH II, 268]), which is a good equivalent.² However, in 7:4 and 12:12, the only other occurrences in Exodus, the translator chooses ἐκδίκησις “vengeance” (GELS, 206; LEH I, 135).³ Contextually there is no apparent reason why the translator chooses a different rendering than κρίσις for נִשְׁפָּט in these two contexts. It seems to me that the translator brackets the narrative of the ten plagues with the term ἐκδίκησις. He defines these plague events as Yahweh’s acts of vengeance against Egypt for the mistreatment of “his firstborn son, Israel” (cf. 4:22 υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραὴλ...εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ βούλει ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτοῦς, ὅρα οὖν ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ τὸν υἱόν σου

¹ Alain Le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevor, *La Bible d’Alexandrie. 2 L’Exode* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 35. They affirm that the Hebrew term means “judgment, in the sense of punishment, inflicting penalty.” They also consider the verbal phrase ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν more explicit with reference to “wreak vengeance” in 12:12.

² The cognate verb נִשְׁפָּט occurs 8x (κρίνω (5:21; 18:13, 16, 22[2x], 26[2x]); διακρίνω (18:16); δικαστή (2:14)) to characterize Yahweh’s action against Pharaoh, his forces and Egypt in general.

³ The expression at 12:12, ποιήσω τὴν ἐκδίκησιν, describes Yahweh’s intent to kill πᾶν πρωτότοκον in Egypt, bringing his actions to a pointed climax. While this rendering reflects the lexemes in the Hebrew text, it also heightens the vengeful response in comparison with 7:4, i.e., “wreak vengeance,” as le Boulluec and Sandevor (*L’Exode*, 117, 147) also observe. What various Pharaohs tried so desperately to avoid (Ex. 2-6) – Israel becoming a hostile force in Egypt’s midst – nonetheless occurs. Yahweh wages war against Egypt on Israel’s behalf. What is important to note, in my opinion, is the way the translator, by his choice of ἐκδίκησις to render נִשְׁפָּט, has signaled intentionally his interpretation of these “signs and wonders” as acts of vengeance, not just judgments.

τὸν πρωτότοκον). Yahweh's response reflects *lex talionis* and the plagues, which ultimately end in the complete destruction of Egypt, Pharaoh and his forces, form the manner in which Yahweh exercises vengeance. The translator's choice of κρίσις to render this noun in 6:6 tells us he knows precisely what this Hebrew term means, but when he chooses ἐκδίκησις as his rendering in 7:4 and 12:12, he seems to do so purposely.⁴

Further, the Hebrew noun seems to have the general sense of "judgment," but not vengeance. The root נקם denotes vengeance as in 21:20, 21, in which context the translator employs the cognate verb ἐκδικέω. ἐκδίκησις does not occur commonly in the Greek papyri or prior Greek literature. LEH⁵ posit that ἐκδίκησις might be a neologism. However, according to TLG it does occur infrequently in compositions older than or contemporaneous with the translation of Exodus.⁶ This would suggest that it is not a neologism, nor is it the expected choice.

Within the narrative of the ten plagues the translator in various ways seems to enhance the status of Moses in his confrontations with Pharaoh, offering a nuanced characterization. Perhaps one of the most significant instances is his rendering of 7:1:

נתתיך אלהים לפרעה ואהרן אחיך יהיה נביאך

δέδωκά σε θεὸν Φαραῶ, καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔσται σου προφήτης·

The translator for the most part has rendered the Hebrew lexemes with his normal defaults and reflects the meaning of the *Vorlage*. However, he

⁴ This Greek noun occurs nowhere else in Greek Exodus. The cognate verb ἐκδικέω occurs at 21:20, 21 to render נקם = avenge, take vengeance on. At 21:20 we have נקם ינקם rendered as δίκη ἐκδικηθήτω. This is the only occurrence of this Hebrew construction in biblical law. According to Joel Korytko, this refers to a judge exacting the appropriate redress by applying the death penalty or some other punishment deemed appropriate (p. 112). Δίκη refers to a case or claim. The translator chooses this term, rather than ἐκδίκησις because he wants to give greater latitude to punishment and not restrict it to the death penalty. Or, perhaps he simply wants to say "let him gain vengeance/redress for his case," assuming that the dead slave is the subject. However, if the one who killed the slave is the subject, i.e., the owner, then the sense would need to be "let him receive appropriate or just vengeance/punishment." The Hebrew text probably indicates that the murderer is the subject – i.e., "let him (the murderer) suffer vengeance". The jussive form refers the authority of the action to another source. See Joel Korytko, *The "Law of the Land" in the Land of Lagides: A Comparative Analysis of Exodus 21:1-32* (MTS Thesis, ACTS Seminars, Trinity Western University; Langley, B.C., Canada, 2018), 112-14.

⁵ J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Part I* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992), 135.

⁶ Aesopus, *Fabulae* 3.2.20 and 246.11 (dative case); 3γ.7 (6th BCE); Quintus Fabius Pictor, *Fragmenta* 18.35 (3rd BCE); Polybius, *Historiae* 3.8.10.6 (3rd -2nd BCE). In the papyri P. Strasb. 1 79.7 (16-15 BCE).

does introduce several transformations worth noting. First, he renders the *qal* perfect as a perfect tense form (δέδωκα). The translator often employs perfect tense forms in direct speech, so in this respect it is not unusual. However, the effect of this tense form in this context is to underscore the state or condition that Yahweh's appointment ("I appoint you") gives to Moses. He receives this status at the pronouncement of Yahweh and he is in this role from this point on. The corresponding Hebrew idiom generally describes how one is appointed to a position or role. So in this case Yahweh is appointing Moses to the position or role of a god.⁷ The translator uses a double accusative with this verb (δίδωμί τινα τινα). LSJ (423) indicates that this use of δίδωμι is a Septuagintalism.

Second, the translator does not give any equivalent for the preposition ל marking פרעה. This leaves the syntactical relationship between θεόν and Φαραώ ambiguous in the Greek text, because the proper name is indeclinable. The Hebrew formation means "god for/with reference to/in relationship to Pharaoh." Φαραώ could be in the vocative, accusative, dative or genitive case. If accusative, it would be appositional either to σε or θεόν, but neither of these options makes sense in the context. Similarly, a vocative case makes no sense, because Yahweh is addressing Moses. If dative, then Φαραώ would designate the person affected in some manner by this appointment, which is the sense adopted by most scholars. However, it could also be genitive, indicating that Yahweh appoints Moses as θεός "of/over Pharaoh." This could be interpreted as a genitive that marks an authority relationship or as an objective genitive, i.e., one who acts as God in relationship to Pharaoh. Defining Φαραώ as dative or genitive theoretically makes good sense in the context.⁸ However, I can find no clear case in the Greek Pentateuch where a complement modified by a genitive occurs following δίδωμι + object. However,

⁷ This is not *apotheosis* in the classic sense. While various Ptolemies claimed the epithet θεός and had shrines and rituals by which the Egyptian population could celebrate their status, the language used by the translator does not parallel such texts. In the classical Greek period, some humans received divine status, but this happens after their death.

⁸ In later Septuagint texts we find examples of δίδωμι followed by two accusatives and a dative (Ps 38:9 δνειδος ἄφρονι ἔδωκάς με "as a reproach to a fool you gave me" (NETS); Gen 16:3 ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἀβραμ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς αὐτῷ γυναικα "and gave her to her husband Abram as a wife for him" (NETS); Gen 38:18 τίνα τὸν ἀρραβωνά σοι δώσω "what pledge shall I give to you?" (NETS)). We find a genitive construction at Ex 23:27 καὶ δώσω πάντα τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σου φυγάδας "and I will make all of your adversaries fugitives" (NETS), but in this case the genitive modifies the object, not the complement as it seems to do in 7:1. See also Num. 11:29. I can find no clear case of a complement + genitive modifier following δίδωμι in the Greek Pentateuch.

there are numerous cases of a dative construction used in such clauses. This leads me to conclude that most probably the translator intends his readers to understand θεὸν Φαραώ as the equivalent of θεὸν τῷ Φαραώ.⁹

In 7:1 the omission of an article with θεός reflects the anarthrous אלהים and indicates that Moses is not actually ‘god,’ but acts as ‘god’ in these negotiations. When the translator uses θεός in reference to Yahweh, usually it has an article. The translator interprets the Hebrew as affirming that Moses is “a god” in relation to Pharaoh. Given the Egyptian belief that Pharaoh was deity, this would place Moses on an equal footing with Pharaoh in some sense as he negotiates on behalf of Yahweh. Later in the text Yahweh declares that he is wreaking vengeance on the “gods of the Egyptians” (12:12), which might include Pharaoh. The placement of the pronoun in σου προφήτης, which characterizes Aaron and references Moses, gives it some prominence (compare the placement of pronouns at 4:16: σοι before προσλαλήσει and αὐτῷ before ἔση), in contrast to its position in the Hebrew text (נביאך).

I conclude that the translator does want his reader to interpret φαραώ as a dative in 7:1. However, the absence of an article to define the case explicitly creates ambiguity, perhaps some mystery, in the text. Moses does have ‘god’-status before Pharaoh, as well as in relationship to Aaron (4:16).

A second aspect of characterization relates to Moses’ communication ability. In the prelude to his role as negotiator¹⁰ with Pharaoh and to the plague accounts, Moses is characterized in the Hebrew text with four different terms. The translator similarly employs four different Greek terms. However, he varies the equivalents in 6:10, 30. In several contexts (4:10, 6:30) he employs compound adjectives (ἰσχνόφωνος, βραδύγλωσσος) to render bound constructions occurring in the Hebrew text.¹¹

⁹ At 4:16 God provides Aaron as Moses’ spokesperson:

הוא יהיה־לך לפה ואתה תהיה־לן לאלהים ודבר־הוא לך אל העם והיה
καὶ αὐτός σοι προσλαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου στόμα, σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ
ἔση τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

However, τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν in this context occurs in an equative clause. The syntax is not parallel to that found 7:1. The article with θεόν indicates that the translator understands this as a reference to Yahweh, i.e., “the deity.” Moses represents to Aaron the matters/authority that pertains to Yahweh in these negotiations.

¹⁰ The translator describes the anticipated interchange with the participle οἱ διαλεγόμενοι “those who converse, discuss, argue” (6:27), which renders the Hebrew participle המדברים. This is the only usage of this Greek verb in Exodus.

¹¹ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Verschiedene Wiedergaben der hebräischen Status-Constructus-Verbindung im griechischen Pentateuch,” *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (AASF B.237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1987) 62-70, but especially page 70.

<i>Citation</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Greek</i>
4:10	לא איש דברים אנכי כבד־פה כבד לשון אנכי	οὐχ ἰκανός εἰμι ἰσχνόφωνος βραδύγλωσσος ἐγὼ εἰμι
6:12 ¹²	ואני ערל שפתים	ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλογός εἰμι
6:30	הן אני ערל שפתים	ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἰσχνόφωνός εἰμι

The Hebrew expressions seem to characterize Moses as lacking capacity to serve as a public speaker or even having some form of speech impediment.¹³ As a result he feels ill-equipped for this mission and perhaps intimidated by the prospect of confronting Pharaoh. Do the various terms employed by the translator give us any hint as to how he characterizes Moses? Does he present Moses as having a speech impediment or do the terms suggest lack of eloquence, rhetorical skill and ability in public speaking? I think the data can be used to support either perspective.

On the one hand, in classical Greek texts the term ἰσχνόφωνος sometimes is connected with the adjective τραυλός, that means “stammering.” Herodotus *Historiae* 4.155.4 describes a child in these terms: ἐξεγένετο ὁ παῖς ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός “a weak-voiced and stammering son was born to him.” In Aristotle’s *Problemata* 902b.22 the adjective ἰσχνόφωνος also is associated with τραυλός “stammering,” but with the adjective ψελλός “inarticulate” as well. Aristotle continues in 903a.38 to ask διὰ τί οἱ ἰσχνόφωνοι οὐ δύνανται διαλέγεσθαι μικρόν; (“Why cannot stammerers¹⁴ speak quietly?”). A little further (905a.16) he seeks to know διὰ τί ἰσχνόφωνοι γίνονται; (“why do people stammer?”).¹⁵ This data indicates that a possible

¹² The genealogy intervenes in 6:14-25 and these two references (6:12, 30) to Moses’ speaking ability bracket this section.

¹³ Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus Vol 1* (HCOT; Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1993), 408-09. Thomas Dozeman, *Exodus* (ECC: Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 142 interprets this to mean that Moses is not eloquent and lacks rhetorical skills.

¹⁴ E. S. Forster. *Volume VII. Problemata*, in *The Works of Aristotle Translated in English under the Editorship of W.D. Ross* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927). Forster translates the various occurrences of ἰσχνόφωνος in Book XI. 35, 38, 54 as “those who hesitate with speech.”

¹⁵ See also later writers such as Plutarchus. Plutarchus *De Pythiae oraculis* 405.B.9 (1-2 century AD) ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ κινεῖν τὸ πεζὸν οὐ δύναται πτητικῶς οὐδὲ τορῶς τὸ τραυλὸν οὐδ’ εὐφώνως τὸ ἰσχνόφωνον “no more than he that stammers can speak fluently and eloquently, or he that has a feeble squeaking voice can give a loud holler.”

Plutarchus *De Pythiae oraculis* 405.C.2 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Βάττον, οἶμαι, διὰ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ τὴν φωνὴν παραγενόμενον εἰς Λιβύην ἐπεμψεν (C) οἰκιστήν, ὅτι τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἰσχνόφωνος βασιλικὸς δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς καὶ φρόνιμος “Therefore in my opinion it was that Battus, when he consulted the oracle, was sent into Africa, there to build a new city, as being a person

interpretation of the translator's intent was to characterize Moses as possessing some kind of speech impediment that limited his speaking ability.

The term βραδύγλωστος does not seem to occur in Greek literature prior to Exod.¹⁶ According to TLG no examples of this adjective occur prior to the 3rd century BCE. For this reason, it is difficult to know whether it is intended to describe someone who has a speech impediment or has difficulty with language fluency. It seems to be formed by the translator specifically to gloss in a somewhat literal fashion the Hebrew bound construction כבד לשון ("slow/heavy of tongue/language"). Le Boulluec and Sandevour translate the Greek text as "à la langue embarrassée."¹⁷ It is glossed by LSJ as "slow of tongue," a sense that GELS (122) and LEH (1.84) repeat. Perhaps it means "sluggish in speech." If this is the sense, then it would support the idea that Moses suffered from some kind of speech impediment or alternatively some inability to formulate effective communication.

Conversely, at 4:10 Moses claims οὐχ ἱκανός εἰμι. The Hebrew literally means "I am not a man of words." The translator's Greek rendering, in comparison with the Hebrew text, expresses a generic disclaimer, which might convey various nuances depending on the context, e.g., "I am incompetent or unsuited or unworthy!" It begs for further definition, which indeed follows. The use of δυνάμενον ἄλλον in 4:13 seems to reflect Moses' perception that he lacks some ability that he regards as critical to the mission and this makes him "incompetent, unsuited, or unworthy" to fulfill Yahweh's intended commission. Isocrates, a 5th/4th cent. Athenian rhetorician, several times in his speeches claims that he lacks φωνὴ ἱκανή "a strong voice."¹⁸ Although the

who, although he lisped and stammered, had nevertheless endowments truly royal, which rendered him fit for sovereign government." W. Sieveking, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3, Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972): 25-59. Retrieved from: <http://ezproxy.student.twu.ca:2745/Iris/Cite?0007:091:41905>.

¹⁶ "sluggish in speech." Le Boulluec and Sandevour, 98 claim that "Bradúglōssos est bien attesté dans des textes profanes." However, TLG shows no occurrences prior to Exod, nor are there occurrences in third century papyri or inscriptions. The term does occur in the 2nd century CE *Vitae Aesopi* to describe Aesop as βραδύγλωστος καὶ βομβόφωνος φαῦλος τε καὶ δεινὸς πανουργία (*Vitae Aesopi* 1.5) (A. Eberhard, *Fabulae romanenses Graece conscriptae*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1872), 226-305. Retrieved from: <http://ezproxy.student.twu.ca:2745/Iris/Cite?1765:003:1605>).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ *Panathenaicus* (orat. 12) 10.3; *Ad reges Mytilenaeos* (epist 8) 7.6; *Philippus* (orat. 5) 81.6. The *Vitae Orators* attributed to Pseudo-Plutarchus devotes one chapter to Isocrates. In book 6.1.2. he is described as being ἰσχνόφωνός τ' ὢν καὶ εὐλαβὴς τὸν τρόπον and ἀσθενὴς τῇ φωνῇ (A. Westermann, *Biographi Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores* (Brunsvigae, 1845), 247. Similar kinds of descriptions are applied to Demosthenes (τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκ φύσεως; book 8.2). As Fairweather notes ("Galatians and Classical Rhetoric," *TB* 45.2 (1994), 231, "Adverse criticisms of deficiencies of physical presence and delivery are commonplace in ancient character-sketches of famous literary figures: Pindar and Sophocles, Plato

Greek text of Exodus 4:10a characterizes Moses as ἱκανός in a general way, the context indicates that this lack of capacity relates to speech or speaking ability.¹⁹ While ἰσχνόφωνος can reflect a weak speaking ability related to stammering, the adjective can simply mean “weak-voiced” and thus lacking ability to participate effectively in public discourse. The fact that this adjective is the only one used twice in 4:10 and 6:30 might suggest that the translator regards it as the more significant term among these four descriptors.

The adjective ἄλογος (עַרְל שְׁפָתַיִם)²⁰ in 6:12 may mean “without eloquence” in this context,²¹ but the term, occurring frequently in classical Greek writers, generally has the sense of irrational, unreasoning, inexplicable, brutish” (cf. Wis. 11:15; 3 Macc 5:40; 4 Macc. 14:14), meanings which do not seem to fit the context of Ex 6:12.²² It apparently explains why the Israelites and the Egyptians will not heed Moses’ message. As Wevers notes, while it normally means “thoughtless, mindless,” it must be intended here “as ‘being without λόγος,’ as lacking verbal fluency.” In other words the translator expects his audience to discern the meaning for ἄλογος he intends through a rough etymological analysis of ἄλογος in context. The use of ἄλογος in 6:12 to render the initial occurrence of עַרְל שְׁפָתַיִם is unique in the Septuagint.²³

I would suggest that a third factor needs to be considered as we seek to understand the translator’s intention. Demotic was the lingua franca among

and Aristotle, Isocrates and Demosthenes, were all said by one critic or another to have had imperfect vocal resources.” Paul’s use of ἱκανός in 2 Cor. 2:14-16a (1 Cor. 15:9) echoes Ex. 4:10. See also Matt. 3:11; 8:8. Presumably educated Hellenistic Jews in Alexandria would be familiar with the literary works of famous rhetors such as Isocrates.

¹⁹ The 3rd century AD writer Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* 3.5.3 describes Plato as ἰσχνόφωνός τε, φασίν, ἦν, ὡς καὶ Τιμόθεός φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ βίων “and they say he was weak-voiced, as also Timotheus, the Athenian attests in his book ‘On Lives’” H.S. Long, *Diogenes Laertii vitae philosophorum*, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964 (repr. 1966): 1:1-246; 2:247-565.

Retrieved from: <http://ezproxy.student.twu.ca:2745/Iris/Cite?0004:001:207517>.

²⁰ The Hebrew adjective עַרְל (uncircumcised) sometimes is paralleled with the adjective כבד “heavy.” Consider “heavy ears” (Isa. 6:10) correspond to “uncircumcised ears” in Jer. 6:10; “heavy heart” in Ex. 7:17 corresponds to “uncircumcised heart” in Lev. 26:41; in 4:10 “heavy with respect to tongue” corresponds to “uncircumcised of lip” in 6:30. Houtman, *ExodusVol 1*, 507, fn. 22.

²¹ LSJ gives it the meaning “without eloquence” (GELS, 29 “lacking in eloquence”; also LEH I.21).

²² Ezekiel the Tragedian Ἐξαγωγή 114 represents Moyses’ claim as οὐκ εὐλογος πέφυκα, γλῶσσα δ’ ἐστὶ μοι δυσφραστος, ἰσχνόφωνος “I am born without eloquence, my speech has difficulty, I am weak-voiced” (my translation). Within the Greek textual tradition several alternative renderings occur, reflecting the Hebrew text more literally, e.g. εὐλαλος or εὐλογος or ευγλωσσος. G renders the pronoun אֲנִי as εἰμι (see 3.11). εὐλογος in the textual tradition may reflect influence from the account in Ezekiel the Tragedian.

²³ For previous uses of λόγος in Exodus see 4:28 and 5:9. It does not occur again until chapter 18.

native Egyptians in the third century BCE. The translator must have known that *in the story world of his narrative*, if Moses moved back to Egypt in order to negotiate with Pharaoh, he would have to speak Egyptian.²⁴ However, in the story world Moses had been in Midian forty years, where he probably had little opportunity, need or desire to speak Egyptian. In the light of Yahweh's commission, he knew he would have to address Pharaoh and his court in that language. This may have led to his declaration of ἰκανός. He was not well-versed in the use of Egyptian language as used in Pharaoh's court. כבד לשון could mean "sluggish in language," although the context does not specify which language. Aaron, as far as the text is concerned, had spent his entire life in Egypt to this point. His facility with Egyptian would have been far better. Presumably, Yahweh did not speak to Moses in Egyptian and so any interaction with Pharaoh would require Yahweh's message to be translated, a task for which Moses had no specific training.

Perhaps then several factors led to the translator's characterization of Moses in these contexts. He probably knew how respected Greek orators and philosophers in the Athenian tradition claimed lack of ability or suitability for public-speaking because of speech limitations, being "weak-voiced." For this reason they devoted their time to preparing written works or teaching. When Moses in the Greek text declares οὐχ ἰκανός εἰμι, it certainly puts him in good company with respect to Greek cultural heroes, if he is claiming that he lacks eloquence and ability to speak in the public forum because he too is ἰσχνόφωνος ("weak-voiced"). The translator would not intend to belittle Moses' character by such a translation. The Hebrew expression לֹא אִישׁ דְּבָרִים אָנֹכִי would seem to suggest lack of eloquence, rather than a speech defect. Further, βραδύγλωσσος could characterize Moses as one who struggles with speaking Egyptian and thus is "sluggish in language." ἄλογος might support this perspective, if it can mean lacking fluency in language. In my view the sequence of Greek terms that the translator employs (4:10; 6:12, 30) is purposeful, shaping his implied reader's perception of Moses and giving a specific interpretation of his *Vorlage*, namely "weak-voiced."

Finally, a few comments on plague terms employed and one or two possible literary elements. In the initial call narrative Yahweh provides signs to convince Moses and then to convince Israel to put confidence in Yahweh and Moses as his appointee (3:12-4:30; cf. 4:21 πάντα τὰ τέρατα renders כִּלְהִמְפֹתִים). At the beginning of the plague narrative, (7:3) "signs and

²⁴ What Egyptian dialect the translator might have had in mind is uncertain. Of course, this is speculation, but is premised on the translator's assumed knowledge of ancient Egypt, as well as the assumption that he was concerned to present a text that made 'historical' sense from his perspective.

wonders” אֲתֵּ-אֲתֵּי וְאֵתֵּ-מוֹפֶּתִי are named in the Hebrew text in conjunction with Yahweh’s action to harden Pharaoh’s heart. The translator renders this as τὰ σημεῖά μου καὶ τὰ τέρατα. מופֶּת occurs by itself in 7:9, 11:9, 10 and the translator always renders it with the compound phrase as σημεῖον καὶ τέρας (singular at 7:9; plural at 11:9, 10, following Hebrew text), referring to various plagues. σημεῖον itself describes a plague three times, rendering אֵת (singular 8:23; plural 10:1, 2).²⁵ So in the plague narrative when מופֶּת occurs by itself, the translator always renders it with the combination σημεῖον καὶ τέρας, but in the case of אֵת the translator’s default is σημεῖον. Tov suggests that this pattern of rendering מופֶּת is an example of harmonization, but this fails to explain why the translator does not follow the same pattern when אֵת refers to plagues in 8:23; 10:1, 2.²⁶ In my opinion, the use of the compound phrase in 7:9; 11:9, 10, where the MT reads just מופֶּת, more probably is an attempt to heighten the drama of these plague events for his readers.²⁷ The combination σημεῖον καὶ τέρας is rare in classical Greek writers. We find it once in Polybius’s description of battle²⁸ preparations between Hannibal and Rome, in which people were seeing “prodigies and miracles filling every temple and house,” portending something serious.

²⁵ It refers to Passover and redemption of the first born in 12:13; 13:9, 16; and to Sabbath in 31:12, 17.

²⁶ E. Tov, “Textual Harmonization in Exodus 1-24,” *Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 22(2017). Jbtc.org/v22/index.html. On page 7 Prof. Tov classifies these changes as the “repetition or change of details found elsewhere in the context (86x) and among those distinctive to the LXX ≠ MT SP. In his view harmonization exists “when a detail in source A is changed to align with another detail in source A or source B because they differ” (2). He continues by saying that “some such changes were inserted unconsciously, but most were inserted because of a theological concern for perfection, especially in harmonizing pluses. In the SP and LXX, harmonization is coupled with other secondary features such as adaptations to the context.” He suggest that “as a rule” these harmonizations were “already found in his Vorlage, although this cannot be proven conclusively” (3)

²⁷ In Deuteronomy מופֶּת always seems to occur compounded with אֵת and the translator rendered this expression consistently as σημεῖον καὶ τέρας (4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:1, 2; 26:8; 28:46; 29:3; 34:11; cf. 11:3).

²⁸ Polybius *Historiae* 3.112.8.2 πάντα δ’ ἦν τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς λόγια πᾶσι τότε διὰ στόματος, σημείων δὲ καὶ τεράτων πᾶν μὲν ἱερόν, πᾶσα δ’ ἦν οἰκία πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν εὐχαὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ θεῶν (9) ἵκετηριαὶ καὶ δεήσεις ἐπεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. δεινοὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ θεοὺς ἐξῆλάσασθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ μὴδὲν ἀπρεπὲς μὴδ’ ἀγεννὲς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν περὶ ταῦτα συντελουμένων. “All the oracles preserved at Rome were in everybody’s mouth; and every temple and house was full of prodigies and miracles: in consequence of which the city was one scene of vows, sacrifices, supplicatory processions, and prayers. For the Romans in times of danger take extraordinary pains to appease gods and men, and look upon no ceremony of that kind in such times as unbecoming or beneath their dignity.” T. Büttner-Wobst, *Polybii historiae*, vols. 1-4, Leipzig: Teubner, 1:1905; 2:1889; 3:1893; 4:1904 (repr. 1:1962; 2-3:1965; 4:1967): 1:1-361; 2:1-380; 3:1-430; 4:1-512.

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USE OF PLAGUE TERMS IN GREEK EXODUS

<i>Text</i>	<i>Hebrew Text</i>	<i>Greek Equivalent</i>
5:3; 9:3, 15	דבר	θάνατος ²⁹
10:17	מות	θάνατος
9:5, 6, 21; 12:24; 14:12	דבר	ῥῆμα (ῥητός 9:4)
9:14	מגפתי	πάντα τὰ συναντήματά μου
11:1	נגע	πληγή
12:13	נגף	πληγή
30:12	נגף	πτῶσις

In Greek Exodus 5:3; 9:3, 15 θάνατος is used as the default rendering for דבר (“pestilence, plague”; a homonym with דבר “word, thing”).³⁰ Wevers comments that in this Septuagint usage “the word means ‘fatal illness, pestilence.’”³¹ Usage in Greek Jeremiah (e.g., 24:10 καὶ ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸν λιμὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν) and Ezekiel (e.g., 6:11 ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ πεσοῦνται) certainly indicates that in later segments of the Septuagint, the sense of the Hebrew noun דבר (“pestilence”) seems to have influenced the semantic range of θάνατος, so that it conveys the sense “pestilence or some kind of fatal disease.” However, does it have this sense in Greek Exodus, a century or more earlier? LSJ does not list “pestilence” as a possible meaning for this noun – not even citing this as a possible meaning based on usage in Greek Jeremiah or Ezekiel, which is unusual.³² The two primary meanings are “physical death, death-penalty/execution.” The translator seems to employ θάνατος with the sense of “death-penalty” (such as in 21:12: ἐὰν δὲ πατάξῃ τις τινα, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανατούσθω).

θάνατος first renders דבר (5:3 פִּגְעָנוּ בְּדָבָר אוּ בַחֲרֵב; μήποτε συναντήσῃ³³ ἡμῖν θάνατος ἢ φόνος) in Exodus in the speech that Moses and

²⁹ This noun is associated with τελευτέω in 9:4.

³⁰ Other occurrences in the Greek Pentateuch include Lev. 26:25; Num. 14:12; Deut. 28;21.

³¹ John Wevers, *Notes On the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 60. He has a footnote marked for this statement, but unfortunately the actual footnote does not appear in the edition, so it is unclear what he was basing his position on. GELS (324) lists this meaning also for Ex. 5:3 and LEH (I.201) indicates “pestilence” for the use at Ex. 5:3. It seems to have this sense in some NT contexts (Rev. 2:23; 6:8b; 18:8).

³² Gary A. Chamberlain, *The Greek of the Septuagint. A Supplemental Lexicon* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Pub. 2011) does not include it among his entries.

³³ See the use of the cognate noun συνάντημα in 9:14.

Aaron give to Pharaoh in their initial request to leave Egypt for religious purposes. The use of this noun as an equivalent raises numerous questions because of the translator's other choices. For example, why does the translator shift the subject from Yahweh in the Hebrew text to the anarthrous θάνατος ἢ φόνος?³⁴ The Hebrew text here resonates somewhat with the story of Yahweh's attempt to kill Moses in 4:24-26, where the same Greek verb συνήντησεν renders a different, but related Hebrew root (פגש). In both cases the translator changes the meaning so that someone or something other than Yahweh directly "encounters, strikes" Moses or Israel.

This is the first context in Exodus where the two nouns דבר and חרב occur. In the case of חרב the translator has no default rendering, but uses five different equivalents.³⁵ The Greek equivalent in 5:3 (φόνος) has the sense of "killing, slaughter, murder." LSJ lists one context where φόνος is used with the sense "death as a punishment."³⁶ The choice of θάνατος as the equivalent for דבר is unexpected. There certainly were well-known Greek terms such as λοιμός or πλῆγη meaning "plague, pestilence."³⁷ The translator uses πλῆγη three times, but not to render דבר. So his choice of θάνατος as the equivalent for דבר can be interpreted as a means to mark different Hebrew terms in his *Vorlage*. And he certainly follows this practice in many instances. It is unclear to me whether the translator is being semantically innovative in his choice of θάνατος, or is reflecting a usage of this noun that was emerging in the late fourth and early third centuries BCE in Ptolemaic Egypt, or intends his audience to read this noun in accordance with its usual Greek sense of "death, death-penalty." As we would expect, he employs θάνατος in 10:17 within the plague narrative to render מות and so levels the variation in the Hebrew text.³⁸

³⁴ It is conceivable that the translator's *Vorlage* read דבר או חרב giving warrant to the translator to regard them as the subject of the verb. However, no extant, Hebrew form of this text has such a reading. Targum Onkelos and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan read במותא או בקטלא (Houtman, *Exodus Vol 1*, 465).

³⁵ βομφαῖος (5:21; 32:27), μάχαιρον (15:9; 17:13; 22:23), φόνος (5:3), χεῖρ (18:4), ἐγχειρίδιον (20:25).

³⁶ LSJ, 1950. Sophocles *Antigone* 36.

³⁷ Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains, Vol. 1* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989, sec. ed.), 271. Lk. 21:11; Rev. 11:6. The cognate adjective λοιμός occurs frequently (usually in reference to "pestilent people"), but there is no clear usage of the substantive. πλῆγη tends to render the Hebrew nouns נגף (Ex. 12:13), נגע (Ex. 11:1) or מכה (in other portions of the Septuagint). At Ex. 33:5 there does not seem to be an equivalent for πλῆγη in the Hebrew text. He uses πτωσίς (loss of human life, calamity) to render נגף at 30:12.

³⁸ It is unclear in 10:17 what מותה הזה refers to, as Pharaoh asks Moses to intercede on his behalf with Yahweh, so that the deity should "take away from me τὸν θάνατον τοῦτον."

What meaning then should we give to θάνατος in Ex. 5:3 and 9:3, 15? I think in 5:3 we might capture the translator's intent by rendering the Greek text as "lest execution or killing should strike us" ("because we have not followed Yahweh's instructions"). The fact that the translator chooses the less specific noun φόβος to render הרב suggests to me that he is talking about general outcomes that result in death as a result of God's judgment. In the case of 9:3, 15 I would suggest that the translator's framing of the plagues as "judgment" and "vengeance" might indicate that θάνατος here has the sense of "death penalty/punishment" which Yahweh exacts upon the Egyptians' cattle and then upon themselves. I think this sense would also fit 10:17. I realize that in making this proposal I am arguing that the translator is choosing not to reflect the specific sense of דבר (5:3; 9:3, 15), but is understanding it as a general reference to Yahweh's threatened punishment against Israel or the Egyptians that results in death. In addition, I am rejecting the argument that θάνατος is a calque. If we do not adopt this perspective, then we have to suppose that the translator expected his audience, from clues in the context or awareness of the Hebrew text or tradition, to discern when θάνατος meant "pestilence" and when it referred to "death" or "death penalty/punishment." I am not sure that the Greek context in 5:3 provides any hint to the readers that they should understand θάνατος in these contexts in a different sense, unless they had a Hebrew text available for reference, or were very familiar with the story through previous oral presentations in synagogues.

In the case of 9:3 it is the χεῖρ κυρίου that brings the plague. Apart from the use of דָּבַר in v. 3 there is no specificity in the account about what causes the cattles' death. It is τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο according to 9:5-6 (דָּבַר). Of course, in the Hebrew consonantal text these two nouns (דָּבַר, דְּבַר) are homonyms and the translator had to make some determination as to which noun in fact was intended. In 9:15 Yahweh explains why he does not annihilate the Egyptians θανάτω (דָּבַר). The next plague is hail, not "pestilence" in the form of disease.³⁹ So I would suggest that θάνατος in these contexts more likely means "death or death penalty/punishment." This might be consistent with the translator's characterization of the plagues as Yahweh's ἐκδίκησις.

The last example I will consider regarding the translator's approach to the plague narrative concerns his choice of lexemes to describe the disease plague in 9:9-10.

Houtman (*Exodus Voll*, 39) indicates that חור at 10:17 is used "in the sense of 'that which brings death and destruction' (cf. 2 Kgs. 4:40), 'this terrible evil' (cf. Deut. 30:15)."

³⁹ We do not have space to consider the choice of ῥῆμα to render דבר at 9:5, 6, 21; 12:24; 14:12 or ῥήτορας at 9:4. Also the use of πάντα τὰ συναντήματά μου at 9:14 to render מגפתי deserves careful scrutiny.

v. 9	ἔλκη, φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι	לִשְׁחִן פָּרַח אֲבַעְבַּעַת
v. 10	ἔλκη φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι	שִׁחַן אֲבַעְבַּעַת פָּרַח

ἔλκος (neuter noun) describes an infected or festering wound, ulcer.⁴⁰ It only occurs here in Greek Exodus, but in the LXX it is the default rendering for שִׁחִן. פָּרַח is pointed as a participle with the sense “to sprout, shoot; to become apparent, break out; to erupt (a boil)”⁴¹, but only in Exodus 9.9, 10 is it rendered as ἀναζέω, “boil up, ooze.”⁴² The plural noun אֲבַעְבַּעַת means “blisters, ulcers”⁴³, occurring in the MT only at Ex 9.9, 10. The translator renders it as φλυκτίς (feminine noun), “boil/blister”⁴⁴ and these are the only occurrences in LXX. The participle is feminine and so qualifies φλυκτίδες in both contexts. The Greek noun ἔλκος, together with the appositional noun and participle, expresses the idea of “festering sores, oozing/boiling blisters/boils.” In v. 9 the translator has reversed the Hebrew word order and altered the syntax (“a wound or ulcer breaking out in blisters/boils”). However, in v. 10 the Hebrew text parallels the Greek construction. The translator uses plural forms for all of the nouns, even though they are singular in the Hebrew text and creates parallelism in both verses with this formation.

I find it interesting that Thucydides (*Historiae* 2.49.5) describes the plague that devastated Athens in the fifth century BCE with a similar cluster of related terms.

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ σῶμα οὐτ’ ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ’ ὑπέρυθρον, πελινθόν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἐλκεσιν ἐξηνηθικός (LCL “externally, the body was not so very warm to the touch; it was not pale, but reddish, livid, and breaking out in small blisters and ulcers”).

Thucydides employs the noun φλύκταινα rather than the cognate φλύκτος used by the translator. The translator’s use of this related terminology might suggest that he wants his audience to hear some echo with Thucydides’ account of the Athenian plague, which occurred a century before the translation project.⁴⁵ How familiar the translator might be with basic, medical

⁴⁰ The noun שִׁחִי, which K-B (2, 1460) define as “ulcer, inflamed spot,” also occurs in v. 11 where it continues to be translated as ἔλκος.

⁴¹ K-B (2, 966). It is associated with leprosy in Lev. 13.39.

⁴² In Greek Leviticus the verb ἐξανθήω “sprout, blossom, break out” is the usual equivalent. This is also the verb usually used in medical treatises to describe such symptoms. The translator’s use of ἀναζέω is unusual in such a context.

⁴³ K-B (1, 9).

⁴⁴ GELS, 737.

⁴⁵ Ancient writers practiced creative imitation of previous literary masterpieces. Virgil fashioned his *Aeneid* after Homer’s epics, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. One of the primary modes of learning in ancient higher education was imitation of the teacher or great literary works or speeches of renowned rhetoricians. Literary imitation did not limit itself to verbal agreement, but also included similarity in plot, characterization, conflation of stories, reversal of narrative

terminology⁴⁶ is unclear because I can find no instance in literature prior to the translation in which ἀναζέω is used to describe the eruption of blisters or boils. In his writings, Hippocrates uses ἀναζέω to describe how medicines are produced by boiling various ingredients. LSJ only cites Ex. 9:9, 10 where this verb is used to describe the eruption of skin boils. Perhaps the translator by employing an unusual verb intends to sharpen the metaphor and emphasize the vigorous, horrible nature of the disease.⁴⁷

One brief example of the translator's literary skill can be identified in his rendering at 10:5 where alliteration and paronomasia may be employed.

καὶ καλύψει τὴν ὄψιν τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὐ δυνήσῃ κατιδεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ κατέδεται
πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν τὸ καταλειφθέν, ὃ κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν ἢ χάλαζα, καὶ κατέδεται
πᾶν ξύλον τὸ φυόμενον ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·

וכסה את־עין הארץ ולא יוכל לראת את־הארץ ואכל את־כל־העץ הצמח לכם מן־השדה
מִן־הברד ואכל את־כל־העץ הצמח לכם מן־השדה

Discerning the presence of alliteration⁴⁸ and paronomasia in the translation requires us to follow some principles. First, that the renderings chosen for Hebrew terms are not the default terms and that the lexical choices in the particular context indicate some intentionality on the part of the translator. He breaks his normal pattern. Second, the Greek sound pattern enables the translator to draw the reader's attention to the text and in this case to the destruction produced by the hailstorm throughout the land.

The paronomasia occurs in the interplay between forms of κατεῖδον (ראה) and κατεσθίω (אכל), accompanied by καταλείπω (שאר, יתר). Smyth defines paronomasia as "play upon words."⁴⁹ κατεῖδον functions as the aorist tense form of καθοράω. This is its only occurrence in Exodus and ὁράω is the translator's default for ראה. There is a word-play in the Hebrew text between (לראת) יוכל and אכל that the translator apparently seeks to replicate in part, using (δυνήσῃ) κατιδεῖν...καὶ κατέδεται.⁵⁰ ἐσθίω is G's default rendering

structure, etc. It would not be surprising if we discerned literary imitation in the Greek translators of the Pentateuch.

⁴⁶ Similarly the medical writer, Diocles, also employs these terms (*Fragmenta* 147.2 (4th BCE)—ἄλλο Διοκλεῖον ἐπιγραφόμενον πρὸς περιωδυνίας καὶ ἐπιφορᾶς, ὑποπύους ὀφθαλμούς, φλυκτίδας, ἔλκη, τοῦτο τὸ φάρμακον ἐστὶ τρυφερώτερον). φλύκταινα occurs frequently in the writings of Hippocrates.

⁴⁷ Compare its use in 2 Macc. 9:9 to describe the death of Antiochus. "Worms broke out of the unbeliever's eyes...."

⁴⁸ *Silvae Rhetorica* (<http://rhetoric.byu.edu/>), "Repetition of the same letter or sound within nearby words. Most often, repeated initial consonants."

⁴⁹ Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 681 §3040.

⁵⁰ If this is a correct assessment, then presumably the translator regards the entire verbal phrase δυνήσῃ κατιδεῖν as equivalent to the second member of the Hebrew word play, even though technically κατιδεῖν does not represent יכל.

for אכל. However four times in chapter 10 (10.5[2×], 12[2×]) he renders it with the compound κατεσθίω (as well as at 15.7). The κατα-element probably intensifies the sense of the simplex form, i.e., “consume.” The choice of the compound verb certainly expresses the devastation created by the hail and the locust. However, in making this choice G also creates paronomasia reflecting the word-play in the Hebrew text.

The translator’s rendering in the third clause is unexpected:

καὶ κατέδετα πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν τὸ καταλειφθέν, ὃ κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν ἡ χάλαζα
ואכל את־יתר הפלטה הנשארת לכם מן־הברד

The Hebrew phrase אֶת־יֶתֶר הַפְּלֻטָּה means “the rest/remainder of what escaped” and it is modified by the niphal participle הַנִּשְׁאָרֶת. So in the Hebrew text we have three terms which express the idea of something that remains. Forms of the Hebrew root יתר are rendered in Exodus by lexemes cognate with the verb λείπω.⁵¹ Only at 10:5 does the translator choose τὸ περισσόν as the equivalent, the only time he uses this substantival adjective in Exodus. The translator transforms the syntax of the bound construction into a Greek noun + adjectival participle construction (πᾶν τὸ περισσὸν τὸ καταλειφθέν). Perhaps he chooses this unusual rendering to avoid using three λείπω cognates sequentially. He uses a form of καταλείπω to render הפלטה (the only occurrence of this noun and associated root in Exodus), a bound noun meaning “escape, deliverance.”

The following relative clause ὃ κατέλιπεν ὑμῖν ἡ χάλαζα (reflecting the Hebrew participial construction) creates a tautology with the preceding adjectival participle τὸ καταλειφθέν. In chapters 8 and 10 the Hebrew root שאר, expressed as a niphal participle, is rendered five times by forms of ὑπολείπω (8:5, 7; 10:12, 19, 26).⁵² In Exodus the translator chooses καταλείπω as the equivalent of שאר in three contexts (8:27(31 LXX) לֹא נִשְׁאַר אִחַד καὶ οὐ κατελείφθη οὐδεμία referring to the removal of the dog-flies; 10:5; 14:28 refers to the destruction of Pharaoh’s armed forces in the sea). In 10:5 the translator could have used a form of ὑπολείπω to render הַנִּשְׁאָרֶת with no apparent change in meaning. The parallel in 10:12 ὃν ὑπέλειπετο ἡ χάλαζα (רַדַּד כָּל־אֲשֶׁר הַשָּׂאִיר הַבָּרָד) makes this clear (see also 10.19, 26). His choice of καταλείπω, however motivated, does enhance the alliteration.

⁵¹ ὑπολείπω (10:15(2x); 23:11), ἀπολείπω (12:10a), καταλείπω (12:10b; 16:19, 20; 29:34a), προσκαταλείπω (36:7), τὰ λοιπά (28:10; 29:34b).

⁵² *Niphal* forms occur at 8:5, 7, 27; 10:5, 19, 26:14:28; a *hiphil* form occurs at 10:12. So the variation in the Greek lexemes does not reflect tense form changes in the Hebrew text. A text such as Isaiah 4:3 shows that ὑπολείπω/καταλείπω essentially are synonyms.

CONCLUSION

These examples show various strategies the translator employed to shape his readers' understanding of the plague narrative. In his translation he expresses his interpretation of events and characters primarily through lexical selection and syntactical transformation. Often the changes are small, but significant. He characterizes the plagues as Yahweh's vengeance against "the gods of the Egyptians." In some cases they express the "death penalty." He defines the nature of the plagues by selective use of terminology—ἐκδίκησις, θάνατος. He may characterize Moses as lacking public-speaking ability and perhaps facility in the Egyptian language. In so doing the translator chooses language which does not diminish Moses' stature, but which places Moses in the company of Greek rhetors and philosophers who similarly were "weak-voiced," but influential. Yahweh gives him "god-like" status in his negotiations with Pharaoh. Some of the plague terms may have intertextual echoes with Thucydides' description of the fifth century BCE plague in Athens. If this is the case, then the translator shows awareness of these classical texts and encourages his readers to reflect on one example of a significant plague event in Athenian history. Lastly, his possible use of alliteration suggests that he wants his translated text to be appreciated for its literary sophistication. This data, in my view, indicates that the translator envisions his text serving a larger purpose than being a crib for the Hebrew narrative or a means of allowing readers to access the Hebrew *Vorlage* in some way.

What might motivate the translator to produce a translation which presents the narrative in these ways? It might be concern for Moses' reputation as Israel's law-giver, characterizing his behavior as similar to well-known Athenian, historical figures. The literary device might reflect his desire to produce a text that non-Jewish readers would find intriguing and attractive as "Greek literature," thereby presenting Jewish history in a favorable light. His presentation of these stories characterizes Yahweh, the God of the Jewish people living in the Ptolemaic kingdom, as a forceful deity who must be acknowledged and respected. The addition of ἐν σοί, a reference to Pharaoh, in 9:16 (ἵνα ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν μου) and the rendering of 8:10(6 MT) (ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν κυρίου) as a declaration to Pharaoh that Yahweh is behind all of these events, would be additional indicators of this motive.

LARRY PERKINS

Northwest Baptist Seminary/ACTS/Trinity Western University.

Langley, B.C., Canada.

perkins@twu.ca

Negotiating Moses's Divine-Human Identity in LXX Exodus

Amy BALOGH

ABSTRACT

This article makes the case that the translator of LXX Exod anticipates the difficulty that later interpreters have with Moses's divine-human identity and manages the audience's interpretation by translating in ways that counterbalance the idea of Moses as divine. I first analyze the two ways in which the translator handles references to Moses as אלהים (Exod 4:16, 7:1), then examine the translator's treatment of key verses (Exod 4:10; 6:10, 30) that prepare the reader to understand Moses's transformation to אלהים לפרעה, "god to Pharaoh," (MT Exod 7:1) or θεὸν Φαραῶ, "god to/of Pharaoh" (LXX) in a specific way. These verses do not describe Moses's transition itself, but instead describe the issue that warrants his transition in the first place—the issue with his mouth or speech. Using the process of translation, the LXX negotiates its own interpretation of Moses identity as one who is אלהים (MT) or θεός (LXX) but not actually divine.

A number of passages in the Torah suggest that Moses is of unparalleled status. Perhaps the most provocative of these passages are Exod 4:16 and Exod 7:1 in which YHWH describes Moses as having the status of אלהים, "god," first to Aaron (4:16) and then to Pharaoh (7:1). In response to these and other verses in which the biblical authors elevate Moses above all human-kind, many interpreters engage the idea of Moses as divine, yet most conclude that he is not a god *per se*, but is god-like in one respect or another.¹ The tendency to negotiate Moses's status as both human and אלהים is also characteristic of LXX Exodus (LXX Exod) where the translator circumvents

¹ Even within the corpus of a single author, such as Philo, the position of Moses as human, divine, or somehow in-between may be ambiguous. M. David Litwa, "The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria," *Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014): 1-27; Additionally, there is no consensus among neither ancient Jewish authors nor later commentators as to which element of Moses's existence is god-like or even what "god-like" means. For examples from a wide-variety of Hellenistic Jewish writers, see Louis H. Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 15; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 331-57. For modern examples, see Carol Meyers, *Exodus* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 69; George W. Coats, *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God* (JSOTSupp 57; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 69; as well as the translations NIV, NKJV, ESV, LEB, NRSV, NASB.

the title אלהים in 4:16, but then presents Moses as θεὸν Φαραῶ, “god to Pharaoh” in LXX Exod 7:1. Whether the differences between MT and LXX on this point are the result of the translator’s decision or inherent to the *Vorlage* from which he worked, the presentation of Moses’s special status in LXX Exod 4:16 and 7:1 establishes a line of interpretation that both challenges the MT and dominates reception history.²

This article makes the case that the translator of LXX Exod anticipates the difficulty that later interpreters have with Moses’s identity as אלהים (MT) or θεός (LXX) and therefore manages the audience’s interpretation by translating strategic verses in ways that counterbalance the idea of Moses as divine. In support of this thesis, I first analyze the translator’s decision to circumvent the reference to Moses as אלהים in LXX Exod 4:16, only to maintain the title אלהים in LXX Exod 7:1. Then, I examine the translator’s treatment of key verses (e.g., 4:10; 6:10, 30) that prepare the reader to understand Moses’s final transformation from either ערל שפתים, “uncircumcised of lips,” to אלהים, “god to Pharaoh,” (MT Exod 6:30-7:1) or ἰσχνόφωνος, “weak voiced,” to θεὸν Φαραῶ, “god to/of Pharaoh” (LXX Exod 6:30-7:1). These verses do not describe Moses’s transition itself, but instead describe the issue that warrants his transition in the first place—the issue with his mouth or speech.³ As the MT prepares its audience for a certain interpretation what it means for Moses to become אלהים, so too the LXX prepares its audience for its own interpretation of Moses as θεὸν Φαραῶ.

TRANSLATING אלהים IN LXX EXOD 4:16 & 7:1

Exodus 4:16: An Interpretive Translation

The conclusion of the burning bush episode (Exod 4:10-17) recounts an exchange wherein Moses objects to his mission by claiming to have an issue

² 4Q22 *paleoExodus*^m preserves the same reading of Exod 7:1 found in MT, lending support to the assumption that the Hebrew *Vorlage* did characterize Moses as אלהים. 4Q22 *paleoExodus*^m (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2010). Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, Judith E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 72, pl. VII. Digitized fragment available through The Leon Levy Digital Scrolls Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Accessed March 10, 2019, <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298147>

³ These verses are comparable to a number of biblical (e.g., Isa 6:1-7; Jer 1:6-10; Ezek 2:8, 3:2) and non-biblical (e.g., Plato, Sophocles, Aristotle) texts in which a prophet or rhetorician complains about their mouth as a metaphoric expression of their reluctance to take on the task at hand. Such comparison is beyond the scope of this project. The issue is, however, taken up in Amy L. Balogh, *Moses among the Idols: Mediators of the Divine in the Ancient Near East*, Fortress Academic Monographs (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 39-41.

with his mouth that prevents him from being an effective ambassador of YHWH to the people of Israel and ultimately to Pharaoh. In response to Moses's objection, Yahweh states that he will add Aaron, Moses's brother, into the equation as Moses's mouthpiece, והיה הוא יהיה־לך לפה ואתה תהיה־לו, "As for him, he shall be (as) a mouth to you, and as for you, you shall be (as) god to him" (MT 4:16).

The most popular understanding of the attached preposition ל to both the Hebrew אלהים, "god, God," and its grammatical parallel פה, "mouth, speech," is that Moses is to be "like" or "as God, a god" to Aaron.⁴ However, there are two challenges to reading ל as a marker of comparison or simile. The first challenge is that ל, "to, toward, for," attached to a noun appears most commonly as an expression of possession or direction, either spatial or temporal, and only rarely takes on the sense of "in reference to" or "with regard to."⁵ If one does interpret ל as "in reference to" or "with regard to," this yields the translation, "He shall be to you with regard to a mouth, and as for you, you shall be to him with regard to God" (4:16), which begs the question: What does it mean to be with regard to a mouth or with regard to God? The text itself does not provide an answer, so interpretation abounds.⁶ This issue is further complicated by the fact that Hebrew has another attached preposition, the comparative particle כ, "like, as, according to," that is commonly used to denote comparison or simile, and lends itself more readily to an interpretation in which Moses is *like* or *as* god in some respect.⁷

The second challenge to reading ל as a marker of comparison or simile comes from the LXX. The LXX interprets ל־היה (cf. ל־היה; cf. ל־היה) through-out Genesis and Exodus consistently as a phrase that describes transition into a new role, status, or being (e.g., Gen 20:12; Exod 2:10).⁸ In the case of ל־היה, the verb of becoming governs the noun to which ל attaches and in so doing offers an example of ל־serving, "to introduce the result after verbs of making, forming, changing, appointing *to* something, esteeming *as* something."⁹ In

⁴ E.g., ESV, LEB, NASB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV. In all of these translations, "like" or "as" is also carried over into Exod 7:1, despite the lack of preposition.

⁵ GKC §119r-s, u; cf. §143e.

⁶ For numerous examples in early Jewish sources, see Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 332-57.

⁷ GKC §102c, 118s-x.

⁸ For an expansive treatment of the preposition ל as an indicator of transition, including more information on ל־היה, see Katri Tenhunen, "The Renderings of the Hebrew Preposition ל in Predicate Expressions Denoting Transition and Becoming Something in LXX Genesis and Exodus," Pages 1-16 in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, eds. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1-16.

⁹ GKC §119t. Emphasis Gesenius's.

four of the other five instances in which **היה לאלהים** appears in LXX Genesis (LXX Gen) and LXX Exod (Gen 17:7, 17:8; Exod 6:7; 29:45), the translator(s) picks up on the use of **ל** **היה** in the Hebrew and translates **היה לאלהים** with various forms of the verb εἶναι, “to be,” followed by the noun θεός in the nominative, communicating the idea that YHWH is to be the chief deity of either the hearer (Gen 17:7; Exod 6:7) or the people of Israel (Gen 17:8; Exod 29:45). In the fifth instance, LXX Gen 28:21 translates Jacob’s statement **והיה יהוה לי לאלהים** using the accusative, καὶ ἔσται μοι κύριος εἰς θεόν, “and (the) Lord will be my God.” In all five instances, YHWH is the one who “becomes God” and **היה לאלהים** communicates a shift in the relationship between YHWH, on one hand, and Abraham (Gen 17:7), Jacob (28:21), and Israel (17:8; Exod 6:7; 29:45) on the other hand.

Exodus 4:16, however, presents a different situation. The phrase **היה לאלהים** still introduces the result of transformation, communicating YHWH’s promise that Moses will become an effective intermediary, but the idea of Moses as a god is theologically problematic. Therefore, LXX Exod diverges from its own strategy of translating **היה לאלהים** as denoting transformation, and only here takes the **ל** in **היה לאלהים** in the sense of τὰ πρὸς “in reference to” or “with regard to,” when YHWH tells Moses σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, “and you [Moses] will be to him [Aaron] in matters pertaining to the deity.”¹⁰ If LXX Exod wished to translate **היה לאלהים** in the sense of “like, as God,” then one might expect the comparative ὥς, but LXX Exod avoids comparing Moses and YHWH directly.¹¹ The distance between Moses and divinity is further emphasized by the inclusion of the definite article τὸν θεόν “the deity, god,” which does not appear in the Hebrew.

As a result of the translator’s decision, LXX Exod 4:16 casts Moses as a generic mediator between YHWH and Aaron “in matters pertaining to (the) God” (cf. LXX Exod 18:19), whereas MT casts Moses as **אלהים** in relation to Aaron, Moses’s elder brother and Israel’s first high priest (although the narrative is yet to reveal this detail).¹² Through this treatment of **היה לאלהים**, the translator of LXX Exod suggests that it is better to leave the reader with the question “in which matters pertaining to (the) God does Moses mediate?” than to elevate Moses as **אלהים**, even if only in relation to Aaron. However,

¹⁰ Wevers adds that LXX Exod rendering **היה לאלהים** as τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν “avoids the crassness” of **היה לאלהים**. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 46. The Vulgate translates similarly: *in his quae ad deum pertinent*, “in those matters which pertain to God.”

¹¹ Daniel M. Gurtner, *Exodus: A Commentary on the Greek Text of Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 224.

¹² Gurtner, *Exodus*, 224.

the issue arises again in MT Exod 7:1 where the language of Moses's special status as אלהים is even more direct.

Exodus 7:1: A Literal Translation

After Moses's conversation with Yahweh at the burning bush (Exod 3:1-4:17), he returns to Egypt and partners with Aaron in defense of the Hebrew people (4:18-31). Together, they approach Pharaoh and request that he allow the people to hold a feast in the wilderness, but the proposal is met with brute force when Pharaoh instead increases the slaves' labor, requiring them to make bricks without straw (5:1-23). Moses revisits his initial objection to YHWH's commission, stating that there is an issue with his mouth or speech that renders him ineffective—even disastrous—as a mediator (6:12, 30).

In MT Exod 7:1, YHWH finally addresses the issue: "YHWH said to Moses, 'See, I have appointed you god to Pharaoh (נתתיך אלהים לפרעה) and Aaron, your brother, shall be your prophet.'" In the history of interpretation, the language of אלהים in לפרעה נתתיך אלהים, "I have appointed you god to Pharaoh," has often been a source of discomfort, even more-so than with MT Exod 4:16, because here אלהים is not modified with a preposition.¹³ Among the scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the later Masoretes, this phrasing is left without notation or comment.¹⁴ However, those tasked with translating or otherwise interpreting "god to Pharaoh" have to decide how this phrase ought to be understood, and therein lies a potential issue.

Within LXX Exod 7:1, the translator manages the audience's interpretation through the use of ambiguity, which underscores the advantage of a literal translation for an audience of the Hellenistic-period. The translator takes נתתיך אלהים לפרעה not as δέδωκά σε θεὸν πρὸς Φαραῶ, "I have appointed you god to Pharaoh," but as δέδωκά σε θεὸν Φαραῶ, which may be translated as either "I have appointed you god of Pharaoh" or "god [to] Pharaoh,"

¹³ For example, Targumim avoid אלהים altogether. Targum Onkelos translates as לפרעה רב, "teacher to Pharaoh," while Targum Pseudo-Jonathan translates as רב ושלט, "teacher and ruler," thus setting precedent for *Exodus Rabbah* and other rabbinic works to interpret אלהים in reference to something other than a divine being. Among modern translators, the most common approach is to modify the noun by harmonizing אלהים (Exod 7:1) with לאלהים (4:61), resulting in the popular translations "like god to Pharaoh" (e.g., ESV, NRSV) and "as god to Pharaoh" (e.g., LEB, NASB, NKJV, NIV).

¹⁴ The oldest extant manuscript fragment of the Book of Exodus, 4Q22 *paleoExodus*^m, preserves the same reading of Exod 7:1 found in the MT. Although both scribal groups had mechanisms by which they could comment on or offer corrections to words and phrases, the scribes of neither the DSS, nor the MT marked YHWH's statement as unusual or problematic. Cf. footnote 2.

depending on how one reads the relationship between the verb and its object(s).¹⁵ This ambiguity perhaps suggests that Moses is divine only to the extent that the other deities Pharaoh regards are divine. As the reader of Exodus soon learns through the narrative of the ten plagues (7:14-15:21), this Pharaoh's gods are no gods at all; Moses is not a god *per se* but god-like in that he is the only person superior to the god-king of Egypt. This interpretation of Moses as "god of Pharaoh" appears to satisfy any theological concern later scribes may have had over the possibility of readers interpreting Moses as divine, as textual variants witnessed in extant Greek manuscripts do not push the issue of Moses's status in Exod 7:1 any further.¹⁶

The ambiguity inherent in the translator's phrasing also underscores the advantage of a literal translation of **אלהים לפרעה**. In addition to the possibility of interpreting Moses as divine, the use of θεός (i.e., θεὸν Φαραῶν) in Exod 7:1 also allows the audience to align Moses with heroic figures from classical Greek literature for whom θεός is a term of honor or esteem on par with that of the gods.¹⁷ This brings the connection between Pharaoh and Moses's status as θεός to the fore; in narrative terms, Moses is the hero of the story, which makes Pharaoh Moses's foil who will ultimately be vanquished after a series of conflicts (Exod 7:8-12:32). On this interpretation, the language of θεός serves both a literary purpose and a practical purpose, as it elevates Moses above Pharaoh and calls the audience to grant Moses the honor due a deity—without insisting that Moses is divine or ought to be venerated.

Yet, the process of negotiating between Moses's humanity, on the one hand, and his **אלהים** or θεός nature, on the other hand, is not limited to the two references to Moses as **אלהים** in MT Exod 4:16 and 7:1. In order to understand the process of negotiating Moses's divine-human identity in LXX Exod, one must also look at the situation that occasions his transition to **אלהים** or θεός in the first place.

¹⁵ Wevers argues that LXX Exod uses δέδωκα in the sense of "I have set, appointed" in light of the Hebrew בָּרַךְ, "to give, set, appoint." LXX Exod consistently translates בָּרַךְ similarly, while the later Antiochian Fathers use the more classical τεθεικα. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 92.

¹⁶ John William Wevers (ed.), *Exodus*, vol. 2 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 118.

¹⁷ BDAG, s.v. "θεός." 451-52. For a brief analysis of the consistent use of θεός as a translation of **אלהים** in the LXX, see Gottfried Quell, "θεός—The Usage of the LXX," *TDNT* (digital edition). On the use of Exod 5-10 by Jewish interpreters in the Hellenistic and Roman periods to present Moses as a Hellenistic hero, see Daniel Jeremy Silver, *Images of Moses* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 50-87.

THE PROBLEM WITH MOSES'S MOUTH

The Presentation of Moses's Mouth in LXX Exod

Both mentions of YHWH making Moses אֱלֹהִים (MT Exod 4:16, 7:1) are preceded by an objection in which Moses states that he cannot mediate on behalf of YHWH and the Hebrew people because there is a problem with his mouth or speech.¹⁸ In LXX Exod, Moses describes himself as ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωστος, “weak voiced and slow of tongue” (4:10), ἄλογός, “without speech” (6:12), and again ἰσχνόφωνος “weak voiced” (6:30).¹⁹ On this interpretation, at best Moses's concern is that his voice is soft, weak, or otherwise unimpressive in the face of a ruler who honors only grandeur; at worst, Moses is physically unable to speak without major complications, a problem with serious consequences for the Hebrew people (cf. Exod 5:1-23).

The interpretation that Moses suffers from ineloquence or a speech impediment works in tandem with the translator's handling of the Hebrew term אֱלֹהִים in LXX Exod 4:16 and 7:1 to emphasize Moses's humanity while simultaneously working to counter the possibility that Moses might be understood as a god or even God. From the perspective of an ancient audience, disability carries a stigma that diminishes Moses's social standing and is therefore at odds with YHWH's goal of elevating Moses to the status of mediator between divinity and humanity.²⁰ Furthermore, the practice of describing Moses's disability with varied terminology enhances the negative outcomes that a disability-oriented interpretation likely had upon the ancient audience's understanding of Moses's pre-transformation nature. By the time YHWH elevates Moses's status to that of either “god to Pharaoh” (MT/LXX Exod 7:1) or “god of Pharaoh” (LXX Exod 7:1), the audience has internalized the translator's stance that the issue with Moses's mouth renders him an inherently problematic choice for the office of mediator, and certainly disqualifies him from divine standing. In this framework, the reference to

¹⁸ For a full critique of how the issue with Moses's mouth has been understood throughout the history of interpretation, see Balogh, *Moses among the Idols*, 36-45.

¹⁹ The term ἄλογός (LXX Exod 6:12) usually means “thoughtless, mindless,” but here takes on the sense of “without speech, without λόγος.” Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 79. Wevers claims that LXX Exod's use of ἄλογός (6:12) and ἰσχνόφωνος “weak voiced” (6:30) demonstrates that the translator understood Hebrew idiom. John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU XXI; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 147. However, Exod 6:12, 30 are the only two extant occurrences of “uncircumcised of lips” in ancient Semitic literature, and the exact referent of the phrase is by not clear, let alone clear in its expression of the qualities of speechlessness and weakness of voice.

²⁰ Saul M. Olyan, *Disability in the Hebrew Bible: Interpreting Mental and Physical Differences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 10, 37.

Moses as **אלהים לפרעה** must be taken as a metaphor. Moses is not divine but is, in some way, divine-like with respect to Pharaoh.

Interpreting in this way, the translator of LXX Exod emphasizes both YHWH's superiority and Moses's dependency. In order for Moses to fulfill YHWH's command to bring the people out of Egypt and into the land promised to Abraham (Exod 3:7-10), he needs YHWH to enact a transformation. If Moses's issue is related to a flaw or disability then the addition of Aaron as Moses's mouthpiece ought to remedy the situation; when this solution proves ineffective, one might then expect YHWH to heal Moses. If Moses is to be understood as ineloquent or having a disability, then not only would the language of healing be more fitting, it would also be less problematic. Yet, Exodus describes Moses as **אלהים לפרעה** (MT) or θεὸν Φαραῶ (LXX).

The Presentation of Moses's Mouth in MT Exod

The MT's presentation of the problem with Moses's mouth pairs well with the **אלהים** language of Exod 4:16 and 7:1, but is peculiar in its own right, as Moses first refers to himself as **כבד־פה וכבד־לשון**, "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue" (Exod 4:10),²¹ then twice as **ערל שפתים**, "uncircumcised of lips" (Exod 6:12, 30).²² Despite the fact that Moses seems to present two different complaints, one about heaviness and one about uncircumcision, the two phrases are interrelated. Just as Pharaoh's heaviness or hardness (**כבד**) of heart (Exod 7:14; 9:7; 10:1) later prevents his reception of YHWH's word, so does the heaviness of Moses's mouth and tongue prevent him from being an effective conduit of YHWH's word, a point illustrated clearly in the narrative of bricks without straw.

After the disastrous outcomes of Moses's and Aaron's first exchange with Pharaoh (Exod 5:1-23), Moses shifts away from his generic complaint regarding the ineffective nature of his speech to the more poignant and specific language of **ערל שפתים** in Exod 6:12, 30.²³ While **כבד־פה וכבד־לשון**,

²¹ LXX reads ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, "weak voiced and slow of tongue," whereas Aquila translates the Hebrew **כבד־פה וכבד־לשון** literally as βαρὺς στόματι καὶ βαρὺς γλώσσῃ, "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue." Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 46. Targum Onkelos renders **כבד־פה וכבד־לשון** as **יקיר ממלל ועמיק לישון**, "heavy of speech and indistinct in articulation (literally: indistinct of tongue)."

²² In both Exod 6:12, 30, Targum Onkelos harmonizes **ערל שפתים**, "uncircumcised of lips," with **כבד־פה וכבד־לשון**, "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue," in Exod 4:10, rendering **ערל שפתים** in both 6:12 and 6:30 with the ambiguous **יקיר ממלל**, "heavy of speech." Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti uses **חגר ממלל**, "halting of speech," in all three verses.

²³ This shift in language is likely a result of the redaction process, yet the redactor does not harmonize the language of Exod 4 and Exod 6-7, thus maintaining a shift in language. On

“heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue” (4:16), has parallels in ancient Near Eastern texts, the use of “uncircumcised” to describe non-phallic and unfit organs is uniquely biblical.²⁴ Moses draws upon the language of circumcision at this juncture precisely because it is striking in its symbolism. The goal of Moses’s rhetoric is to convince YHWH that a divinely enacted transformation is necessary in order for Moses to be effective, and Moses’s second use of עֵרֶל שִׁפְתַּי finally elicits the desired response, as YHWH resolves the issue by initiating Moses into his new status as “god to Pharaoh.”²⁵

The term עֵרֶל, “uncircumcised,” is used throughout the Hebrew Bible to communicate three interrelated matters: one’s status as an enemy of the Abrahamic Covenant in which YHWH promises the land of Canaan to the Hebrew people, the inherent shame of that enemy status, and, in the exilic period, the impurity of the uncircumcised state.²⁶ By using the language of uncircumcision to describe his lips, Moses communicates that until YHWH enacts a transformation, Moses’s interactions with Pharaoh will only worsen, his commission to bring the people into the Promised Land will become increasingly difficult, and Moses’s legacy will be one of shame. In transitioning Moses to אֱלֹהִים, YHWH finally attends to Moses’s complaint and renders moot the issue with Moses’s mouth. This transition elevates Moses above commoners and the god-king of Egypt alike, granting him status beyond that of other religious officials, such as high priest or prophet.²⁷ Even though Moses is of human descent (e.g., 6:14-27), he is now so distinct from everyone else, including Pharaoh, that only the word אֱלֹהִים can convey how wholly other Moses has become. The narrative underscores this point immediately, as Moses’s new status as אֱלֹהִים לְפָרֹעַ plays out on Egypt’s national stage (Exod 7:8-12:32).

the various redaction-critical schools of thought regarding Exod 3-7, see Thomas B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus* (ECC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 31-43, 94-175; Jaeyoung Jeon, *The Call of Moses and the Exodus Story: A Redactional-Critical Study in Exodus 3-4 and 5-13* (FAT 2, Reihe 60; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

²⁴ On parallels, see Tigay, “‘Heavy of Mouth’ and ‘Heavy of Tongue’ On Moses’ Speech Difficulty,” *BASOR* 231 (1978), 57-67; On “uncircumcised” as uniquely biblical, see William F. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 2; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 273-74.

²⁵ Nahum M. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Exodus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 36.

²⁶ Balogh, *Moses among the Idols*, 60-72.

²⁷ For a reading of Moses’s position as god to the god-king as ironic, see Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), 89.

IMPLICATIONS & CONCLUSION

Through the process of comparing and contrasting how the LXX and MT each deal with the issue of Moses's mouth and his subsequent transition from ἰσχνόφωνός, "weak voiced," to θεὸν Φαραῶ, "god to/of Pharaoh" (LXX Exod 7:1) or ערל שפתים, "uncircumcised of lips," to אלהים לפרעה, "god to Pharaoh" (MT Exod 7:1), the dilemma of the interpreter comes to light. Caught between the language of divinity used to describe Moses's status and an audience for whom the language of divinity might elicit theological options different than those promoted in the Torah, the translator of the LXX chooses a translation strategy that allows him to maneuver theologically dangerous terrain without losing the advantage of the term θεός, which includes the possibility of elevating Moses's status to that of a classical hero.

The persistence of the language of divinity in Exod 7:1 highlights just how important are the terms אלהים and θεός for understanding Moses's position, despite the fact that such language opens up the possibility of an interpretation of Moses's status that is at odds with monotheism. The author of the MT and the translator of the LXX both prioritize a heightened understanding of Moses's status over the theology of those who might argue Moses's divinity based solely on the use of אלהים in MT Exod 4:16 and 7:1 or of θεός in LXX Exod 7:1. Implicit in this prioritization is the assumption that the audiences of the MT and LXX are familiar with the descriptions of Moses that precede Exod 7:1, which communicate clearly that Moses is indeed human, and that his especially high status with respect to the Hebrew people has its origin in YHWH.

Looking back to Exod 4:16, we see a different approach to translating the term אלהים. For reasons one can only speculate, the translator of LXX Exod decides on an interpretive translation, taking YHWH's declaration that Moses shall become אלהים to Aaron as pertaining to his function as one who informs Aaron, τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, "in matters pertaining to the deity" (LXX Exod 4:16). In contrast to the literal translation in 7:1, here the translator presents an interpretation of what it means for Moses to become אלהים to Aaron, rather than leave the interpretation to his audience.

As for the verses that describe the issue Moses has with his mouth in the first place, there, too, we find the translator of the LXX working to balance both text and context. The author of the MT assumes an audience for whom the biblical language of כבד־פה וכבד־לשון, "heavy of mouth and heavy of tongue" (Exod 4:10), ערל שפתים, "uncircumcised of lips" (Exod 6:12, 30), and (ל)אלהים, "(as) god, God" (Exod 4:16, 7:1) is familiar enough to

understand in all of its nuance, yet peculiar enough to garner the audience's attention. The translator of the LXX, on the other hand, does not make this same assumption and opts for an interpretive translation which instead presents Moses as ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, "weak voiced and slow of tongue" (4:10), ἄλογός, "without speech" (6:12), and again ἰσχνόφωνος "weak voiced" (6:30). This approach allows the translator of LXX Exod to both negotiate the divine status attributed to Moses in Exod 7:1 and to present the issue of Moses's mouth in ways familiar to a Greek audience, all while bringing to the text a set of nuances that elevate Moses above humankind but not necessarily above YHWH.

In summary, the translator of LXX Exod maintains the positive outcomes of referring to Moses as θεός in LXX Exod 7:1, then manages the potentially negative outcomes of the θεός-language by reworking prior verses so that they guide the reader to an interpretation in which Moses is not necessarily divine, but is of a status higher than that of Pharaoh, the god-king of Egypt. From the perspectives of both the MT and LXX, Moses is the most outstanding figure in all of history. Where they differ is in how they communicate his identity.

AMY BALOGH

University of Denver & Iliff School of Theology

Denver, Co, USA

Amy.Balogh@du.edu

Translating Leviticus 20:13

George M. HOLLENBACK

Since translating the LXX amounts to translating a translation, being mindful of the original source text is always in order; this is especially so in the case of a passage such as Lev 20:13. In the most recent English version of the LXX, that verse is rendered as follows:

And he who lies with a male in a bed for a woman, both have committed an abomination; by death let them be put to death; they are liable. (NETS)

This particular translation gives the impression that the condemnation of the sexual congress between two males is due at least in part to their engaging in their activities in a woman's bed. Because the Greek text underlying the translation is itself a translation from the Hebrew, understanding the meaning of the Hebrew may shed light on the meaning of the Greek.¹ The Hebrew text of Lev 20:13a reads and may be straightforwardly translated as follows:

וַאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־זָכָר מִשְׁכְּבֵי אִשָּׁה

and a man who lies down with a male lyings down of a woman²

In addition to “bed” or “place of lying down,” one of the primary meanings of *משכב* is “act of lying down,” often in a sexual context.³ The construction *משכב שֶׁכַּב* or “lie down a lying down” is described by Clines as a “cognate

¹ The texts used here are Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, eds., *Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1977) and Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935; 1971).

² Most English translations read similarly to the RSV: “If a man lies with a male *as with* a woman . . .” (Emphasis added.) The *as with*, however, cannot be grammatically justified on the basis of the Hebrew, and it changes the sense of the prohibition from that of man's assuming the receptive role to his assuming the insertive role in male-on-male sexual intercourse. See Jerome T. Walsh, “Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13: Who Is Doing What to Whom?” *JBL* 120/2 (2001): 201 – 9 for a thorough discussion of the issue.

³ Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907, 1972), s.v. “שָׁכַב”; David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), s.v. “משכב”; and William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament Based upon the Lexical Work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), s.v. “משכב.”

accusative.”⁴ Walsh describes it as a “cognate direct object” like “dream a dream” or “sin a sin.” Thus a man who lies down the lyings down of a woman would be a man who lies down the way a woman would with another male. The construct plural **משכב** may allude to the range of sexual posture available to the female, from facing the male to facing away from the male, the male being restricted to facing the female.⁵

If the Hebrew text of Lev 20:13a was about lying *in* or *on* women’s beds, **משכב** would necessarily have to have the meaning of “bed” and would therefore, in the context of being used with **שכב**, have to be used with a preposition to distinguish it from its “act of lying down” meaning. The expectation of a preposition is borne out by those attested instances where **משכב** does occur in conjunction with some form of **שכב** where **משכב** indisputably has the meaning of “bed”: **כל־המשכב אשר ישכב עליו** “every bed which he lies down *on*” (Lev 15:4); **כל־המשכב אשר־ישכב עליו** “every bed which he lies down *on*” (Lev 15:24); **כל־המשכב אשר־השכב עליו** “every bed which she lies down *on*” (Lev 15:26); **לשכב במשכו** “to lie down *in* his bed” (2 Sam 11:13); **שכב על־משכבך** “lie down *on* your bed” (2 Sam 13:5); and **ישכיבהו במשכב** “and they laid him down *in* the bed” (2 Chr 16:14). So if Lev 20:13 were a prohibition against male-on-male sex *in* or *on* women’s beds, **משכב**—now understood to mean “beds of” instead of “lyings down of”—should have been preceded by the preposition **ב** “in” or **על־** “on.”

The importance of the foregoing discussion lies in the fact that the Greek text of Lev 20:13a reads almost word for word like the Hebrew, *preserving the same idiom*:

καὶ ὃς ἂν κοιμηθῇ μετὰ ἄρσενος κοίτην γυναικός

and if a man lies down with a male a lying down of a woman⁶

Although **κοίτη**, like **משכב**, has a primary meaning of “bed” or “place of lying down,” it is clear from context that here it has the meaning of “act of lying down” since it mirrors that use of **משכב** in the Hebrew. Furthermore, Muraoka refers to **κοίτη** as a “cognate object” of **κοιμάω** in this context, assigning **κοίτη** the meaning of “sexual intercourse.”⁷ The obvious connotation

⁴ David J. A. Clines, *Dictionary*, s.v. “**משכב**.”

⁵ Jerome T. Walsh, “Leviticus,” 204 – 5.

⁶ As with most English translations from the Hebrew, the earlier translations from the Greek have the subject of the prohibition lying with a male *as with* a woman, the *as with* not grammatically justified by the Greek, its insertion shifting the sense of the prohibition from the receptive to the insertive party: “And if any man lie with man *as with* woman . . .” (Thomson); “And whosoever shall lie with a male *as with* a woman . . .” (Brenton).

⁷ Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), s.v. “**κοίτη**.” Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the*

is that of *lying down* to engage in sexual intercourse. The only deviation from the Hebrew is that κοίτην is singular whereas מִשְׁכָּבִי is plural.

So if the Greek text of Lev 20:13a was about lying *in* or *on* women's beds, κοίτη would necessarily have to have the meaning of "bed" and would therefore, in the context of being used with κοιμάω, have to be in the dative case or be preceded by a preposition and have the appropriate case ending to indicate the activity was going on in a bed, on a bed, or the like to distinguish it from its "act of lying down" meaning. Although the particular translation considered here supplies such a preposition, it cannot be justified on the basis of the Greek text. The expectation of a preposition (or dative case) is found in those Greek passages corresponding to the Hebrew where κοίτη occurs in conjunction with some form of κοιμάω where κοίτη indisputably has the meaning of "bed": πᾶσα κοίτη, ἐφ' ἧ ἐὰν κοιμηθῇ "every bed *on* which he may lie down" (Lev 15:4); ἐὰν δὲ κοίτη τις κοιμηθῇ "and if anyone lie down *in* bed" (Lev 15:24); πᾶσαν κοίτην, ἐφ' ἣν ἂν κοιμηθῇ "every bed *on* which she may lie down" (Lev 15:26); κοιμηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ "to lie down *on* his bed" (2 Kgdms 11:13); and Κοιμήθητι ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου "lie down *on* your bed" (2 Kgdms 13:5).⁸

In conclusion, although Lev 20:13 has presented challenges to its interpreters, neither its Greek nor its Hebrew wording lends itself to the idea that the prohibition involves activities in or on *a woman's bed*.

GEORGE M. HOLLENBACK
Houston, Texas
USA
gmh616@yahoo.com

Septuagint, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), s.v. "κοίτη" also list "sexual intercourse" as the meaning in this context.

⁸ The excerpt from 2 Chr 16:14 is omitted from this list because it has κλίνη instead of κοίτη for "bed."

Righteousness and Mercy in Greek Deuteronomy: On the Translation of **הַדָּקָה** by **ἐλεημοσύνη***

Jean MAURAIIS

ABSTRACT

The Hebrew **הַדָּקָה** is translated using **ἐλεημοσύνη** in Deuteronomy 6:25 and 24:13, two important passages providing a rationale for law observance. Despite this match having been discussed in a number of studies, none address the reasons why **ἐλεημοσύνη** translates **הַדָּקָה** in these two passages and not elsewhere in the book. After reviewing a number of factors and explanations, including the semantic range of both Hebrew and Greek terms and their evolution in meaning during the post exilic period, an explanation is presented that takes into account the translation patterns of the book, illustrating how some shifts from the usual translation patterns can sometimes shed light on the theological conceptions of those responsible for the production of this translation.

RESUMÉ

Le terme hébreu **הַדָּקָה** est traduit par **ἐλεημοσύνη** en deux endroits en Deutéronome (6:25 et 24:13), deux textes importants du fait qu'ils expliquent les résultats de l'obéissance à la Torah. Bien que cette traduction ait été l'objet de plusieurs études, aucune n'aborde les raisons pour lesquelles **ἐλεημοσύνη** traduit **הַדָּקָה** dans ces deux passages et non ailleurs dans le livre. Après avoir passé en revue les différentes explications proposées, y compris la portée sémantique des termes hébreux et grecs ainsi que l'évolution de leur sens pendant la période postexilique, une alternative est avancée qui tient compte de la technique de traduction observée dans ce livre. Celle-ci illustre comment certains écarts dans les équivalences habituelles observées dans la traduction peuvent parfois mettre en lumière les conceptions théologiques de ceux qui en sont responsables.

1. INTRODUCTION

The translation of the Hebrew lexeme **הַדָּקָה** in the Septuagint, especially when rendered using the Greek **ἐλεημοσύνη**, has been the subject of recent

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scholarly interest.¹ To be sure, the unconventional nature of this match has been discussed for some time, with scholars commenting on it mostly in passing or as part of a study on the Greek or Hebrew terms.² Kim's study discusses this particular rendering throughout the Septuagint's translational corpus, but the motivations for its use within particular books deserve further exploration.³ This is especially the case in Deuteronomy, where the use of ἐλεημοσύνη alters the meaning of two important passages. The motivation for employing ἐλεημοσύνη in these two texts is an intriguing question as it may reflect a way of conceptualizing the relationship between Torah obedience and divine mercy which differs from that found in the Hebrew text.

The Hebrew word צדקה occurs 6 times in Deuteronomy. The first instance is found in ch. 6, at the conclusion of a key section of the book emphasizing the importance of obeying Yahweh's commands to ensure blessing and long life in the land of Canaan. V. 25 concludes this section, describing the result of obedience by stating that "צדקה will be ours, if we are careful to observe this commandment before Yahweh our God...":⁴

Deut 6:25

וצדקה תהיה לנו כי נשמר לעשות את כל המצוה הזאת לפני יהוה אלהינו כאשר צונו
καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη ἔσται ἡμῖν, ἐὰν φυλασσώμεθα ποιεῖν πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς
ταύτας ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, καθὰ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν.

¹ See for example Jong-Hoon Kim, "Zur Relevanz der Wiedergabe von צדקה mit ἔλεος/ἐλεημοσύνη," in *Die Septuaginta - Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung Veranstalter von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 510–19. The topic is also dealt with in the context of LXX Isaiah and the subject of an entire chapter in Seulgi L. Byun, *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah* (London: Continuum, 2017), 35–65.

² For example, Olofsson's two-page discussion of the translation of צדקה in his 1992 study on consistency, which relies on the extensive study of these terms by David Hill. See Staffan Olofsson, "Consistency as a Translation Technique," in *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 55–56; David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967). Olley also discusses this term as part of his study of Isaiah in John W. Olley, *Righteousness in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 8 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979). Other shorter discussions can also be found in earlier literature, for example in Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 50.

³ Wevers and Dogniez/Harl can only deal with it briefly in their comments on LXX Deuteronomy, as will be discussed below. See Cecile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, La Bible d'Alexandrie 5 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992); John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

⁴ Perhaps another possibility would be: "It will represent צדקה for us to carefully observe...". Translations are by the author unless noted otherwise.

An almost identical formulation is also found in Deuteronomy 24:13 where a specific example of law observance is said to result in צדקה:

Deut 24:13

השב תשיב לו את העבוט כבא השמש ושכב בשלמתו וברכך ולך תהיה צדקה לפני יהוה
אלהיך

ἀποδόσει ἀποδώσεις τὸ ἐνέχυρον αὐτοῦ περὶ δυσμᾶς ἡλίου, καὶ κοιμηθή-
σεται ἐν τῇ ἱματίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογήσει σε, καὶ σοι ἔσται ἐλεημοσύνη
ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

Commentators have traditionally understood the use of צדקה in this phrase as referring either to one's right standing in relation to covenant requirements (innocence, uprightness, or approved conduct)⁵ or some kind of merit or credit that is acquired.⁶ In OG Deuteronomy, 4 of the 6 instances of צדקה are translated using δικαιοσύνη, and the 12 appearances of צדק cognates are also translated using words of the δίκαιο- family.⁷ The aforementioned texts are the only two where the translator has chosen to render צדקה with the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη.

One way of explaining this rendering would be to simply posit that צדקה had a broad semantic range and that the translator recognized that

⁵ "That is, 'being in the right', as in a verdict of acquittal, or 'being in a right relationship with Yahweh's requirements (24:13).'" See Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 87. In a slightly different perspective, Otto summarizes this behavior before Yahweh as *Gemeinschaftstreue*. Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11: Zweiter Teilband: 4,44 - 11,32*, 778, 825. An example of this understanding is the NRSV, which translates as follows: "If we diligently observe this entire commandment before the LORD our God, as he has commanded us, we will be in the right."

⁶ "That is, 'it will be to our credit,' implying that one accumulates credit for meritorious deeds (see also 24:13). The concept is like that of acquiring 'principal' in the Talmudic idea that 'a good deed yields a principal and bears interest,' as in the list of 'deeds whose interest one uses in this world while the principal remains for the hereafter'—except that in the Bible the concept refers only to this world." See Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 83. The NJPS translates as "It will be therefore to our merit before the LORD our God to observe faithfully this whole Instruction, as He has commanded us."

⁷ Of the 157 occurrences of צדקה in the Hebrew Bible, 133 are translated as δικαιοσύνη. More pertinent to this study is that צדקה is translated by ἐλεημοσύνη 8 times: Dt 6:25, 24:13, Ps 23:5, 32:5, 102:6, Is 1:27, 28:17, and 59:16. OG here refers to the earliest recoverable Greek text of LXX Deuteronomy, as reconstructed by Wevers in his major critical edition: John William Wevers, *Deuteronomium, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Göttingen, vol. 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977). A chief assumption of this study is that we can meaningfully speak of the translator when working from this text, with the understanding that it is not beyond improvement in places. However, the lexical items discussed in this study are uniformly attested in the oldest Greek evidence so that it represents the clearest achievable picture of the translator's work in light of the extant witnesses.

δικαιοσύνη, despite its general sense of a quality or state of justice, righteousness, or upright behavior, was not sufficient to account for all of its meaning.⁸ This is certainly a possibility, but before concluding that this is the case, one has to examine whether the Hebrew term actually acquired this meaning, when this might have taken place, or whether this meaning was read into the word by the translator. One must also investigate whether there is an explanation as to why specific Greek words were chosen in some contexts and not others. Because of this, it seems more appropriate to focus first on a particular book and how these words would have been understood at the time of translation. Each of these items will be addressed in turn.

2. ἘΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

In the Greek literature and documentary evidence roughly contemporary with the initial translation of the Greek Pentateuch, ἐλεημοσύνη is found with the meaning of “pity” or “mercy”, a disposition which in context is often associated with benevolent actions. It can be portrayed in a negative light and listed along vices such as envy and contentiousness.⁹ The Zenon archive also contains one instance of the use of ἐλεημοσύνη. In a letter, two swineherds who had been imprisoned for a fault they do not deny, appeal to Zenon for their release, fearing their herds would perish in their absence and that they would die for lack of basic necessities. The letter concludes thus:

σὺ οὖν ἐπίσκεψαι εἴ σοι δοκεῖ ἀφεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐθέννα κύριον ἀλλὰ σέ. πρὸς σέ οὖν καταφυγάνομεν, ἵνα ἐλεημοσύνης τύχωμεν.

You could review then if it seems good to you to set us free. For we have no other master but you. We have therefore appealed to you, that we might obtain mercy.¹⁰

⁸ In other words, the resources of the target language could not account for the semantic range of דָּקָה. See the discussion to this effect in Olofsson, “Consistency,” 55–56. Others have worked in the opposite direction, attempting to use the translation to recover or confirm the full range of meaning of the Hebrew term. This is the approach taken by Kim, who sees the semantic range of דָּקָה in BH as already including the concept of mercy. See Kim, “Zur Relevanz”.

⁹ For a positive reference, see *Call. Philol.*, *In Delum* 4.152. For the negative connotation, see *Chrysipp. Stoic., Fragmenta. Moralia*, Fr. 422, line 6. Conceived as a weak disposition, pity would not be welcome in the administration of justice as it implies partiality from the judge.

¹⁰ P.Cair.Zen. 3.59495. John Lee also mentions this text as background for our passage, adding that in Dt 24:13, the resulting meaning is not quite clear. See J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico: Society of Biblical Literature, 1983), 108.

As can be expected, this request stands in stark contrast with a number of similar petitions which appeal for justice.¹¹ Here, the petitioners, knowing they are not in the right, appeal to mercy instead, that is, for Zenon to act mercifully on their behalf. Such a disposition appears very different at first glance from the Hebrew צדקה, which usually refers in the Hebrew Bible to a quality of uprightness, justness, or right conduct.¹² The concept of pity or mercy may overlap somewhat with one of the uses of צדקה which denote righteous intervention (vindication and deliverance) in favor of the oppressed.¹³ This salvific sense is said of Yahweh's צדקה and found mostly in the context of Isaiah 40-55 and Psalms.¹⁴ In any case, recent interpreters have not understood צדקה in this way in the Hebrew texts before us, which provide no hints of a perilous or oppressive situation inviting pity, mercy, or even deliverance on behalf of the party receiving צדקה.

3. צדקה IN POST-BIBLICAL HEBREW

Another solution has been to posit that the Hebrew צדקה, already a polysemous word in biblical literature, sees its semantic range broadened in post biblical Hebrew. John Wevers notes how the word צדקה had acquired in later Hebrew the meaning of "mercy" and even "deeds of mercy", and that perhaps this new meaning has influenced the translator.¹⁵ This is supported by texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, where צדקה is best understood

¹¹ Note the many letters from the same period and location concluding with a phrase like "ἵνα ἐπὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ, καταφυγὼν τοῦ δικαίου τύχῳ". See for example P.Col.4.83, P.Polit. Iud. 6, and P.Enteux. 2.

¹² See HALOT, s.v. "צדקה", where the term is found under the heading "justness, meaning community loyalty". The DCH identifies 12 distinct usages of צדקה, and places these two Deuteronomy passages under heading #3: "merit". It is worth noting however that heading #4 is "divine beneficence, benevolence", that is, the justice of Yahweh as judge. It notes that the distinction between this usage and #7, "vindication, deliverance" is not always clear. See DCH, s.v. "צדקה." In his TDOT entry, Johnson suggests that צדקה is concretizing the underlying notion of צדק, usually in actions manifesting righteousness. However, he understands צדקה in Dt 6:25 and 24:13 as Yahweh's positive and beneficent intervention. This sense is difficult to construe based on the syntax and immediate context, esp. in 6:25. See Bo Johnson, "צדק," TDOT, 12:252-253.

¹³ In many of these instances, צדקה is found in the plural, confirming that it refers to a specific type of action. Otto postulates that ἐλεημοσύνη does translate part of the Hebrew concept of צדקה, Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11: Zweiter Teilband*, 781. It might be better said, however that ἐλεημοσύνη demonstrates semantic overlap with one of the usages of צדקה in the Hebrew Bible. צדקה is a polysemous word employed in a variety of contexts.

¹⁴ Byun provides a helpful survey of the history of research on this term, also allowing for various nuances based on context. See Byun, *The Influence*, 36-41.

¹⁵ John William Wevers, *NGTD*, 126. This conclusion is also shared by Kim and Byun.

as referring to a “deed of mercy” or even “almsgiving”.¹⁶ Such a meaning eventually converges with the semantic range of ἐλεημοσύνη which can also denote not only “pity” or “mercy”, but also more concrete manifestations such as “charity” or “alms”, as the many instances found in Tobit, Sirach, and the New Testament demonstrate.¹⁷

The Aramaic צדקה also shows a range of meaning which could be seen as developing along the same lines. A construction similar to the one found in Dt 6:25 and 24:13 is found in Cowley, *Arm. Pap.* 30.27.¹⁸ This letter implores the recipient to fund the rebuilding of the Elephantine Jewish temple, here describing the outcome for him:

וצדקה יהוה לך קדם יהו אלה שמיא מן גבר זי יקרבלה עלוה ודבחן ...

And it shall be a merit to you before Ya'u the God of heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings...

While the syntax of this phrase is not identical to that found in Deuteronomy, both are fairly close in meaning.¹⁹ The term is also found once in Dn 4:24^{MT}, where the king is encouraged to remove his sins through צדקה and his iniquities through mercy for the oppressed:

Dn 4:24^{MT} (27^{LXX})

להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך וחטיך בצדקה פרק ועייתך במחן ענין הן תהוא ארכה לשלותך

αὐτοῦ δεήθητι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, ἵνα ἐπιείκεια δοθῇ σοι καὶ πολυήμερος γένησαι ἐπὶ τοῦ

¹⁶ Francesco Zanella, “Between ‘Righteousness’ and ‘Alms’: A Semantic Study of the Lexeme צדקה in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period*, ed. S. E. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. Clemens (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 280–85. A fuller treatment of the Hebrew terms that comes to a similar conclusion is Ahuva Ho, *Sedeq and Sedaqah in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991). Several texts from the late Second Temple period demonstrating this semantic shift are discussed in Byun, *The Influence*, 41–51.

¹⁷ For example, Mt 6:2. See also several of the instances found in Tobit, particularly Tob 4:7, 16. Gary Anderson also traces the development of the Hebrew terms in Gary A. Anderson, “Redeem Your Sins by the Giving of Alms: Sin, Debt, and the ‘Treasury of Merit’ in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition,” *Letter & Spirit* 3 (2007): 36–69. See also Byun, *The Influence*, 52–55.

¹⁸ A. Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 114. 71.5 also contains a similar use of צדקה, but its fragmentary nature renders all interpretation uncertain.

¹⁹ The Aramaic construction differs from the Hebrew in one significant point. It places the feminine צדקה in the accusative since it varies in gender with the verb, while the Hebrew, with its feminine verb form, places צדקה as subject. The Aramaic phrase can thus be read as: “It (your generous gift) will be צדקה for you before YHW...” hence the translation as “merit”, or “reward”. Dt 6.25 would be better translated as: “צדקה will be to you (will be yours)...”. On the tomb of a 7th century BCE priest found near Aleppo, one finds the inscription: “Because of my righteousness (*bšdqty*) in his presence, he gave me a good name and prolonged my days.” Here צדקה could describe either the priest’s quality of uprightness, or more concretely his faithful conduct in service of the deity. See “The Tomb Inscription of Si’gabbar, Priest of Sahar,” trans. P. Kyle McCarter (*COS* 2.59:185). See *KAI* 226.2–3.

θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ μὴ καταφθαρῆς. τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀγάπησον. (Ziegler)

διὰ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, ἡ βουλή μου ἀρεσάτω σοι, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων· ἴσως ἔσται μακρόθυμος τοῖς παραπτώμασιν σου ὁ θεός. (θ')

The context suggests that **קִדְּשׁ** has to do with deeds of mercy, perhaps even acts of charity when considered in light of the parallel line. While the extant Greek translations are the product of different individuals and different periods, both have ἐλεημοσύνη in the plural, also confirming this understanding of the term. This would suggest that in the late Second Temple period, the Aramaic **קִדְּשׁ** also had as part of its semantic range the usage that also develops in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew. By the rabbinic period, **קִדְּשׁ** was more consistently linked to alms.²⁰

Therefore, there is reason to think that while the classical meaning of **קִדְּשׁ** was still known, there was growing semantic overlap between **קִדְּשׁ** and ἐλεημοσύνη in the period when the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was produced.²¹ However, this solution does not answer the question as to why OG Deuteronomy's translator chose ἐλεημοσύνη here and δικαιοσύνη elsewhere in the same book, since δικαιοσύνη would have been a suitable choice in Dt 6:25 and 24:13 and remains the default option to translate **צִדִּיק**.²²

4. TRANSLATION PATTERNS IN OG DEUTERONOMY

Part of the difficulty has to do with whether **קִדְּשׁ** is to be understood as that which characterizes one's obedience, or something received from Yahweh. In the context of 24:13, could **קִדְּשׁ** refer to the act of giving back the pledge,

²⁰ The Targumim consistently translate **קִדְּשׁ** by **זכו** or **זכותא**, perhaps suggesting that by that time, the Aramaic **קִדְּשׁ** no longer carried the same sense as its Hebrew counterpart, at least in the variety of meanings found in the Hebrew Bible. Byun concludes: "...it is apparent that the trajectory in the meaning of **קִדְּשׁ** moves from the general sense of 'rightness' or 'normative behavior' to qualities constituting right behavior and, ultimately, to concrete examples of righteous behavior such as 'almsgiving' and 'charity'..." See Byun, *The Influence*, 51.

²¹ *Ἐλεημοσύνη* is employed in only one other instance in the Pentateuch: In Gn 47:29, it translates the Hebrew **חסד**, which is paired with **אמת** (**חסד ואמת**) = ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ ἀλήθεια). For a study of the relationship between **חסד** and ἔλεος in the LXX, see Jan Joosten, "Hesed 'bienveillance' et éleos 'pitié'. Réflexions sur une équivalence lexicale dans la Septante," in « Car c'est l'amour qui me plaît, non le sacrifice... ». *Recherches sur Osée 6:6 et son interprétation juive et chrétienne*, ed. Eberhard Bons, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 88 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 25–42. Joosten suggests that many of the apparent mismatches between Hebrew words and their Greek translation can be credited to the fact that the meaning of Hebrew words changed between the time of their original context and that of the translation.

²² This incidentally suggests that δικαιοσύνη retains its Greek meaning and does not assimilate to the meaning of **צִדִּיק**.

an action which is considered as a merciful deed before Yahweh? Such a reading does not easily fit the grammatical construction of the Hebrew phrase where **הַדָּקָה** is clearly the subject, the thing being obtained or validated in God's sight.²³ It seems preferable to understand the use of *ἐλεημοσύνη* in 24:13 as stating in effect that when one shows mercy, there will be mercy for him before Yahweh.²⁴ This is the rendering adopted by NETS and it reflects an understanding that is different from both interpretations mentioned in our introduction. Here Torah-observance does not result in credit or merit, nor even in right standing or proper conduct within the covenant relationship. Rather, the outcome is that of placing Israel in a position to receive divine compassion or benevolence.²⁵

Dogniez and Harl also point out that **הַדָּקָה** has in the Hebrew Bible the occasional sense of divine justice which brings about acts of benevolence ("des actes de bonté"). Since this is not naturally rendered by *δικαιοσύνη*—which is never employed to describe the justice of the gods—the translator had to resort to another word instead. In the context of Dt 6:25, he would have understood obedience as "justifying" Israel before Yahweh which would then make it the object of divine mercy. Hence they translate *ἐλεημοσύνη* into French as *compassion*.²⁶ Even though they are probably right in assuming that the translator has "compassion" in mind, this does not answer the question as to why the translator thought benevolence was in view here. Moreover, the claim that *δικαιοσύνη* does not describe the justice of gods seems overstated. We find in Dt 33:21 a description of Yahweh as executing *δικαιοσύνη*, and numerous other examples throughout the Septuagintal corpus where various translators did not hesitate to employ *δικαιοσύνη* to render divine **הַדָּקָה**.²⁷ Dogniez and Harl further cite Gn 15:6 and Ps 106:31 for

²³ While in the Hebrew text **הַדָּקָה** is the feminine subject of the verb, *ἐλεημοσύνη* could be either subject or predicate of the verb *εἰμί*. Therefore, the Greek translation is ambiguous and allows both understandings. This should be considered an accidental "feature" of the translation since it is a limitation of the Greek language. La Bible d'Alexandrie chose the latter option by translating: "Ce sera pour toi un acte de justice devant le Seigneur ton Dieu." See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 268. The translation of *ἐλεημοσύνη* by "acte de justice" is somewhat surprising given the philosophy adopted by the Bible d'Alexandrie project, which seeks to read the LXX as a Greek text. Here it translates the meaning of the underlying Hebrew term. However in their note on 6:25, Dogniez and Harl suggest a longer meaning: "acte de justice méritant la miséricorde de Dieu". See Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 158–59.

²⁴ Otto also suggests that the connection made between the two texts in Greek implies that Israel is to show mercy as it is shown mercy. See Otto, *Deuteronomium 1-11: Zweiter Teilband*, 781.

²⁵ Kim also sees in this understanding a significant shift in emphasis from the meaning of the Hebrew text. See Kim, "Zur Relevanz," 515.

²⁶ Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronome*, 158–59.

²⁷ This claim is also stated in Kim, "Zur Relevanz," 514. However there are numerous examples outside of Deuteronomy where Yahweh's **הַדָּקָה** is translated as *δικαιοσύνη*, suggesting that

Three other instances of צדקה are found in Deuteronomy 9:4-6, where it is stated in no ambiguous terms that Israel will not inherit the land because of any צדקה of its own, but because of Yahweh's covenant promises. Israel's צדקה would be insufficient to deserve such an inheritance (v. 6 repeats the same):²⁹

אל-תאמר בלבבך לאמר בצדקתי הביאני יהוה לרשת את-הארץ הזאת וברשעת הגוים האלה...לא בצדקתך ובישר לבבך אתה בא לרשת את-ארצם כי ברשעת הגוים האלה

The sixth and final occurrence of צדקה is found in 33:21. The first part of this verse presents some textual difficulties³⁰, but the last two lines can be discerned clearly enough. MT has צדקה in a genitive construction with Yahweh, describing Yahweh's צדקה being executed by (in context probably) Gad, the subject. The Greek translation reworks this phrase while preserving the word order: The Hebrew צדקה is translated as δικαιοσύνη, but Yahweh becomes the subject.

צדקת יהוה עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל

δικαιοσύνην κύριος ἐποίησεν καὶ κρίσιν αὐτοῦ μετὰ Ἰσραηλ.

²⁸ This would appear to conflate several meanings of צדקה. One could also question the extent to which mercy and merit are compatible.

²⁹ In the context of Dt 9, Israel was transgressing the law as soon as it was given, leading Moses to break the tablets and to plead for the sparing of the people's lives. Israel has no צדקה—at least not sufficiently to form the basis for its inheritance of the land.

³⁰ Wevers states: "I can make little consistent sense out of MT's ספון ורתא חלקת מחקק ספון ורתא ראשי עם". See Wevers, *NGTD*, 551.

Wevers suggests that Gad's practicing righteousness was theologically questionable to the translator, who without shifting word order, cleverly places κύριος in the nominative, attributing righteous conduct to Yahweh instead.³¹ In any case, צדקה is here understood as righteous or upright conduct and not acts of benevolence as the translation confirms. This is to be expected since when found in combination with משפט, צדקה usually denotes righteous rule.

5. CONCLUSION

Perhaps a picture emerges when one considers all the occurrences of צדקה in Deuteronomy. Since 9:4-6 clearly states that Israel has no צדקה/δικαιοσύνη of its own, the possibility of attributing just conduct or right standing (δικαιοσύνη) to Israel elsewhere might present a problem. The use of ἐλεημοσύνη in 6:25 and 24:13 reflects a reading of these texts which removes the tension between the statement of chapter 9 and those of chapters 6 and 24. It states that the observance of Torah simply places Israel in a position to receive mercy, that is, Yahweh's compassion or compassionate action. The overall portrait is one that avoids attributing δικαιοσύνη to Israel, emphasizing Yahweh's ἐλεημοσύνη instead.³² Therefore, obedience leads only to mercy. It is worth noting that the programmatic statement of Dt 30:1-10 follows a similar sequence: If once in exile Israel returns to Yahweh and wholeheartedly obeys his voice according to all that has been commanded, Yahweh will 1) return the captives—OG reads "ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου", 2) show them mercy, and 3) gather them from all the nations where they were dispersed. The language of obedience is reminiscent of the earlier sections of chapter 6, and this is perhaps the chronological grid through which Dt 6:25 is understood in the context of the translation. It represents another way to account for the choice of ἐλεημοσύνη in Dt 6:25: Obedience will lead to mercy and restoration despite past sins.³³ If Deuteronomy is read through

³¹ See John William Wevers, "The LXX Translator of Deuteronomy," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 88; Wevers, *NGTD*, 551–52. It is also possible that the Hebrew text was misread, understanding צדקה instead of צדקת. Unfortunately, our only manuscript from Qumran which includes this text (4Q35Deut^h) only preserves the first and last line of this verse. MasDeut (a Hebrew fragment from Masada) is another witness from this period but it is identical to MT.

³² Aejmelaeus also observes a similar emphasis in OG Deuteronomy, which appears to stress Yahweh's mercy. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," in *Das Deuteronomium und seine Querbeziehungen*, ed. T. Veijola, SFEG 62 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 13–14.

³³ The importance of Dt 30:1-10 in Second Temple Jewish contexts has been documented elsewhere. Of particular interest are the recent studies by Lincicum, here discussing the similar sequence in Tob. 13:5-6, and Matusova discussing Philo and other interpretations of this text.

the grid of 30:1-3, then sin remains in Israel's past despite its present (albeit imperfect) obedience. Therefore, instead of understanding צדקה in this context as Israel's righteous conduct or merit obtained, the translator understands it rather as Yahweh's compassion or benevolent action towards his people.³⁴

It is to be noted that a shift of this nature is only possible because of the evolution of the word's semantic range in this period. Since the translator had several options available for the meaning of צדקה, he could resort to the meaning of "act of mercy" against the usual sense of the Hebrew text. Given the book's overall translation technique, it is unlikely that a chief concern in its translation would be to harmonize its message. What seems more likely is that the Hebrew text was read in a particular way in the context of the translation, and that it therefore reflects this understanding. This would more plausibly explain the sporadic but punctual adjustments that would stress Yahweh's mercy or tenderness towards Israel and the emphasis on other themes as well.³⁵ These occasional shifts from the usual lexical matches present a window into the way Deuteronomy was read in the Second Temple period, and how the Septuagint can be of help in shedding light on the theological conceptions of those who produced it.³⁶

JEAN MAURIS

McGill University

Montreal, Canada

jeanmaurais7@gmail.com

See David Lincicum, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 92–93; Ekaterina Matusova, "Interpretation and Reception. Deuteronomy Reworked, or Composition of the Narrative in the Letter of Aristes," in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 64 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 516–20.

³⁴ Olley observes a similar pattern in the translation of צדקה in Isaiah. See Olley, *Righteousness*, 112–16. On Isaiah, Joosten also comments: « Dans tous les cas où le traducteur accentue ou ajoute cette notion [de pitié], il s'agit de la pitié de Dieu. Ainsi le traducteur d'Ésaïe témoigne de ce que la pitié de Dieu n'étais pas, dans la communauté juive d'Alexandrie, une idée étrange imposée bon gré mal gré par les écritures hébraïques—selon l'exégèse contemporaine—mais au contraire une notion centrale, et chérie, de leur théologie. » Joosten, "Hesed 'bienveillance' et éleôs 'pitié'," 42.

³⁵ For some examples, see Aejmelaeus, "Die Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums," 13–14; Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deuteronomie*, 39–40.

³⁶ Perkins argues that even a literal translation provides the translator with opportunities to "...put his stamp upon the material and ensure that his understanding of the Hebrew text, or the understanding of his Jewish community, finds expression." See Larry Perkins, "Deuteronomy," 79. See also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Semantics of Biblical Language Redux," in *"Translation Is Required": The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, *Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 56 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 51.

The *Numeruswechsel* as a Content and Context Related Criterion in the Characterisation of LXX Translation Technique: Deuteronomy 29 as a Test Case¹

Antony J. KHOKHAR

ABSTRACT

The so-called *Numeruswechsel* is not only a distinctive feature but also one of the most enigmatic characteristics of the book of Deuteronomy. While some scholars have used this criterion to reconstruct the composition history of the book of Deuteronomy, others have regarded it as a stylistic device. In most of the studies, scholars only refer to “how” the Greek text of Deuteronomy reads in cases of the *Numeruswechsel*. Only few have shown “why” the Greek Deuteronomy reads so when faced with this puzzling feature. Focusing on the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in one specific chapter of the book of Deuteronomy, we will attempt to see what can a comparison of the Masoretic text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX) Deuteronomy illustrate about this peculiar aspect. This will be done by analyzing the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Greek text of Deuteronomy 29.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have observed that *Numeruswechsel* is one of the most enigmatic features and a perplexing problem found in the book of Deuteronomy.² This phenomenon is not peculiar to the book of Deuteronomy, however (cf. for instance, Exod 12:24-27; 19:6; 23:20-33; Lev 18:2-26; 19:9, 12; 25:9). In general, the oscillation between the second person singular and the second person plural in verbs and pronominal suffixes when Israel is addressed

¹ The first draft of this paper was read at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting held at Boston from 18-21 November 2017. The author worked on an FSR project on Deuteronomy, funded by Université catholique de Louvain (UCL). He defended his PhD dissertation in 2018 under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Hans Ausloos.

² Cf., Hans Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy,” in Jonathan M. Robker, Frank Ueberschaer & Thomas Wagner (eds.), *Text—Textgeschichte—Textwirkung: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Siegfried Kreuzer*, AOAT 419 (Münster: Ugarti-Verlag, 2014), 303. See also Duane L. Christensen, “The *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy 12,” in Idem (ed.), *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*, SBTS 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 394.

directly is called the *Numeruswechsel*.³ This change is, nevertheless, not only limited to the second person. Léo Laberge points out that shift in persons is evident also from the third person singular to the first person singular and from the second person plural to the first person plural.⁴

1. RECAPITULATION OF STUDIES ON THE *NUMERUSWECHSEL*

An impetus to study the criterion of the *Numeruswechsel* was individually given by Willy Staerk and Carl Steuernagel wherein both of them, working separately, suggested that this criterion could be utilized in reconstructing the growth of the book of Deuteronomy.⁵ Alfred Bertholet, however, refuted this proposal five years later and saw the *Numeruswechsel* as a stylistic device.⁶ Whether it is a five volume doctoral dissertation of Christopher Begg⁷ or the doctoral dissertations of William Higgs and Yoshihide Suzuki,⁸ or the works of Georges Minette de Tillesse,⁹ or that of Norbert Lohfink,¹⁰

³ Ausloos, "LXX's Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy," 303.

⁴ Léo Laberge, "La Septante de Dt 1-11: Pour une étude du « texte », in Norbert Lohfink (ed.), *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, BETL 68 (Leuven: University Press, 1985), 131-133.

⁵ Willy Staerk, *Das Deuteronomium: sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form: eine kritische Studie* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894); Carl Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums: Literarisch-kritische Untersuchung über seine Zusammensetzung und Entstehung* (Halle: Wischan & Wettengel, 1894). Christopher Begg has given a detailed description of these two works. Cf. Christopher T. Begg, "1994: A Significant Anniversary in the History of Deuteronomy Research," in Florentino García Martínez et al. (eds.), *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C.J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Suppl. VT 53 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 1-11; Idem, "The Significance of the *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy: The 'Pre-History of the Question,'" *ETL* 55 (1979), 116-124. See also Ausloos, "LXX's Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy," 303.

⁶ Alfred Bertholet, *Deuteronomium erklärt*, KHAT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1899), xix. See also Ausloos, "LXX's Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy," 303.

⁷ Christopher T. Begg, "Contribution to the Elucidation of the Composition of Deuteronomy with Special Attention to the Significance of the *Numeruswechsel*" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Louvain, 1978).

⁸ William Robert Higgs, "A Stylistic Analysis of the *Numeruswechsel* Sections of Deuteronomy" (Ph.D. Diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KA, 1982); Yoshihide Suzuki, "The 'Numeruswechsel' Sections of Deuteronomy" (Ph.D. Diss., Claremont Graduate School, CA, 1982).

⁹ Minette de Tillesse claimed that all sections of Deut 5-30 addressed in plural were due to the Deuteronomist redactor while texts addressed to in the singular belonged to the original Deuteronomy. For a detailed study on his proposal, cf., Georges Minette de Tillesse, "Sections 'Tu' et Sections 'Vous' dans le Deutéronome," *VT* 12, 1 (1962), 29-87.

¹⁰ Lohfink sees the oscillation of change in number of persons on stylistic grounds. Cf., Norbert Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11*, AnB 20 (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963). Moshe Weinfeld also assumes

it is important to remark that all these scholars mainly dealt with the *Numeruswechsel* in the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy, with mention of only *how* the LXX text reads. But no serious studies on the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the LXX are done. In other words, the ‘why’ aspect of such reading/s has so far been neglected. We will, therefore, precisely pay attention to analyse the text of the LXX and in our evaluation, we shall try to answer this “why.”

Hans Ausloos has recently brought out his analysis of the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in LXX Deut 12, in which he demonstrated how “the LXX translator seems to have made very deliberate choices” when confronted with this enigmatic phenomenon. Ausloos, however, reminds that it is not easy to decide if the variations in the text of LXX Deuteronomy *vis-à-vis* MT can be attributed to the translator or his Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹¹

In what follows, we will take up Deut 29 as a test case for the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the LXX.

2. THE RENDERING OF THE *NUMERUSWECHSEL* IN DEUT 29

Deut 29:1-28 (LXX 29:2-29) falls within the final discourse of Moses (28:69–34:12). The chapter opens with the introductory formula *וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה* *אֶל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם* (and Moses called to all Israel and said to them). This same formula is also found in 5:1. The opening words of this verse make it clear that Moses’ address is not to any individual but “to them” (*אֲלֵהֶם*). In this chapter, Moses reminds them of all they have witnessed, from their setting off from Egypt, to great wonders in the desert, to the defeat of Sihon the King of Heshbon and Og the King of Bashan, and to the giving away of

that the interchange between singular and plural manifests stylistic variations which the same author introduced in his text. For details, cf., Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1991), 16.

Based on the sections of singular and plural in Deut 5–26, Hinckley Mitchell had argued that the book of Deuteronomy is the work of two authors, one employing the singular and the other making use of the plural of the second person. Cf., Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell, “The Use of the Second Person in Deuteronomy,” *JBL* 18 (1899), 69; 82-83. George Smith refutes this claim of two different authors proposed by Mitchell. Smith is quite emphatic and reiterates that, apart from a few instances, singulars prevail in the hortatory discourses and plurals in the narrative. Therefore, it is both precarious and difficult to decide in full confidence if the singulars and the plurals indicate two different hands. For more details see, George Adam Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, CBSC (Cambridge: University Press, 1918), lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

¹¹ Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy,” 304-305.

the land of these kings to the Reubenites, and to the Gadites, and to the half tribe of Manasseh. YHWH's acts against Pharaoh as well as the land of Egypt are reiterated often in the book of Deuteronomy. Thus, we find these expressions in Deut 1:30; 4:34; 7:18; 11:3 and 34:11. Given the fact that the Israelites have well seen with their own eyes the marvels of YHWH, Moses' exhortation "to them" (אֲלֵהֶם) is to remain obedient and faithful to the covenant (v.8).

In this speech of Moses, generally addressed in the second person plural, we notice a strange switch to the second person singular, which may cause amusement to the reader. When the address of Moses is "to them" (אֲלֵהֶם) in 29:1, one expects that the speaker will continue his speech in the same grammatical tone. However, an abrupt switch in the address in the immediately following verse into a singular calls for analysis. Why has this sudden shift taken place?

As we have seen above, 29:1 is addressed in a plural. Its Greek translation (29:2) is equivalent when seen from the perspective of a plural address. The text of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP) is identical to MT whereas there is no extant copy of the text of 29:1 from the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). There is, however, a variant in LXX Deuteronomy *vis-à-vis* MT: τοὺς υἱοὺς (the sons). Hence, the LXX text reads: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Μωσὴς πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς... (And Moses called all the sons of Israel and said to them...). The phrase כָּל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is not found in MT Deuteronomy. Carmel McCarthy is of the opinion that the translator or his *Vorlage* probably assimilated it from other books of the Pentateuch where the expression is common, e.g., Exod. 10:23; 11:7; 12:42, 50; Lev 17:2; 22:18; Num 17:24; 27:21.¹²

There is a sudden shift from the second person plural to the second person singular in MT Deut 29:2. The phrase אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ עֵינֶיךָ (which thine¹³ eyes have seen) refers to the great trials YHWH did to Pharaoh, his servants and his land. While we do not have a witness from DSS for the verse, SamP supports MT. According to Lohfink, the oscillation from plural to singular is "a deliberate stylistic technique."¹⁴

Interestingly, the LXX renders the text in a similar fashion—οὓς ἑώρακαν σὺν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου (which thine eyes saw). John William Wevers notes

¹² Carmel McCarthy, *Deuteronomy prepared by Carmel McCarthy*, BHQ 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 128*.

¹³ In this paper, we have made use of the Middle English in order to explicitly indicate the use of singulars and plurals.

¹⁴ "Das ist bewußte stilistische Technik, nicht etwa Nachlässigkeit oder gar Zeichen verschiedener Schichten." Cf., Lohfink, "Der Bundesschluß im Land Moab," 37, no. 24.

that the singular σου is based on the singular in MT.¹⁵ Begg has remarked that the text of the Lucianic recension of the LXX, Syriac and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan read the plural. More than that, he does not expatiate on it especially concerning the LXX, but states in a footnote that Penna adopted the reading of these versions.¹⁶ Similarly, Timothy Lenchak too mentions only in a footnote that these three texts read the plural.¹⁷

While it is true the translator's rendering in singular is similar to the reading of MT, one might be prompted to question the very motif of such rendering. Why did the translator not level his text in this instance? Why did he choose to follow his *Vorlage* in this particular way here? Is this just a matter of consistency?

The noun עַיִן (eyes) with singular suffix appears 13 times in Deuteronomy: 3:21, 27 (2×); 4:9, 19; 6:8; 7:19; 10:21; 28:31, 32, 34, 67 and 29:2. In the first three instances, namely 3:21 and 3:27 (2×), the referent is Joshua and Moses respectively. In all other instances, the addressees are the people of Israel. In these ten cases, LXX Deuteronomy reads the text in singular. In his analysis of the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in LXX Deut 12, Ausloos has suggested that the translator or his *Vorlage* might be consistent with his text not only to keep up the uniformity of the number but also for some theological reasons.¹⁸ Could one assume in the case of 29:2 (3), therefore, that the translator or his *Vorlage* was purposely not harmonizing the text here too, not on account of uniformity of the number but due to some theological concern?

If we follow the list of Moshe Weinfeld, עֵינֶיךָ (thine eyes) also seems to be part of the stereotypical Deuteronomic language in cases of Deut 4:9; 7:19; 10:21 and 29:2 (cf. also 1 Sam 24:11).¹⁹ Samuel Driver also listed this word as characteristic of Deuteronomy.²⁰ In all the ten instances that we have listed above, the LXX renders as:

¹⁵ John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), 462.

¹⁶ Begg, "Contribution to the Elucidation of the Composition of Deuteronomy," 1228 (see also his footnote 2089).

¹⁷ Timothy A. Lenchak, "Choose Life!" : A Rhetorical-Critical Investigation of Deuteronomy 28,69–30,20, AnB 129 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 105, no. 69.

¹⁸ Ausloos, "LXX's Rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in the Book of Deuteronomy," 308.

¹⁹ Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 357. Weinfeld also adds Josh. 24:7 in this list, which, however, reads in plural: עֵינֵיכֶם (your eyes).

²⁰ Samuel R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1965), lxxxiii.

- 4:9 – עֵינַי = οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου
 4:19 – עֵינֶיךָ = ἀναβλέψας (thou look)
 6:8 – עֵינַי = ὀφθαλμῶν σου
 7:19 – עֵינַי = οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου
 10:21 – עֵינַי = οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου
 28:31 – עֵינֶיךָ = ἐναντίον σου (before thee)
 28:32 – עֵינֶיךָ = καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου
 28:34 – עֵינַי = τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου
 28:67 – עֵינַי = τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου
 29:2 (3) – עֵינַי = οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου

Importantly, in five instances—Deut 4:9; 7:19; 10:21; 28:32 and 29:2 (3), the translation has the same grammatical structure too. In these five cases, what עֵינַי—thine eyes—indicates is that they (i.e. the people) have indeed experienced/will experience the awe-inspiring events and the deeds or trails (הַמַּסֹּת) of YHWH.

It may be possible to presume that our translator—or his *Vorlage*?—was impressed by this characteristic and stereotypical Deuteronomic language that he chose not to level his text here. Since this formula is quite often repeated in the book of Deuteronomy, the translator seems to give due weight to it. Ausloos has argued that the translators of other books of the Pentateuch were also influenced by Deuteronomic phraseology.²¹ Confronted by this typical Deuteronomic language, which he deemed was used thoughtfully, the translator showed his reluctance to change the text. It may, therefore, be plausible to remark that in this case, our translator is scrupulous and logical because he seems to be careful as far as possible, thereby remaining close to his *Vorlage*.

29:3 (4)

29:3 (4) continues to address the Israelites in the second person plural: לֹא־נָתַן יְהוָה לְכֶם לֵב לְדַעַת (And YHWH did not give you a heart to know). The LXX text is adequately rendered in the plural: καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι, with ὁ θεὸς as a ‘plus’. Note that we will not point out a ‘plus’ or a ‘minus’ unless deemed necessary here, because our intention is to analyse the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel*.

²¹ Hans Ausloos, “The Septuagint Version of Exod 23:20-33: A ‘Deuteronist’ at Work?,” *JNSL* 22, 2 (1996), 89-106; Idem, “LXX Num 14:23. Once More a ‘Deuteronist’ at Work?,” in Bernard A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, SBL SCS 51 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2001), 415-427; Idem, “Traces of Deuteronomic Influence in the Septuagint,” *JNSL* 35, 1 (2009), 27-44.

29:4 (5)

29:4 (5) has three peculiarities in MT:

- (i) The beginning part of the verse changes from Moses' speech to YHWH's speech—**וְאֹלֶךְ אֶתְכֶם** (And I have led you) and this YHWH's speech sustains till v. 5. SamP and a small portion from DSS (4QDeut^l) read YHWH's speech in line with MT.
- (ii) The first part of the verse is in plural: **שְׁלֹמֹתֵיכֶם מֵעַלֵיכֶם** (your mantles from upon you). SamP in this part of the verse is also in plural, although it reads **שמלתיכם** (your clothes) instead of **שְׁלֹמֹתֵיכֶם** (your mantels). DSS fragment does not preserve much except for **מעליכם** (on you).
- (iii) The second half of the verse switches to singular address: **וְנִעַלְךָ לֹא-רַגְלָתָהּ** (and thy sandal did not wear out over thy foot). 4QDeut^l also reads in singular for 'thy sandal' (**וְנִעַלְךָ**) but the last two words of the verse (i.e. over thy foot) are not preserved.

For the rendering of this verse, we observe that the translator or his *Vorlage* begins the address not in the first person singular, but in the third person singular and the complete verse is translated in plural: **καὶ ἡγάγεον ὑμᾶς...** (And he led you...). The second half of the verse in the LXX is, like the reading of SamP, in a plural form. Wevers points out that the translator renders the complete verse in plural in order to level it.²² McCarthy mentions that since **נִעַל** (sandal) and **רַגֶּל** (foot) generally bear a collective meaning, the versions changing the singular into plural can be regarded as simplifying the text. With Wevers, she contends that the rendering of the Hebrew singular suffixes for plurals into Greek in this verse shows the harmonizing tendency of the translator with the whole context.²³

Begg, however, thinks differently. For him, the author of the Hebrew text of Deut 29:1ff has the habit of making citations, and Deut 29:4 has a citation of the singular of Deut 8:4.²⁴ But Begg does not touch upon the Greek rendering in any way.

Unlike the Hebrew readings of MT, SamP and DSS, we notice a 'minus' in the Greek reading. It or its *Vorlage*? does not have a rendering for **מֵעַלֵיכֶם** (from upon you). Wevers does not offer an answer to the 'minus' of the

²² Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 463.

²³ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 128*.

²⁴ Begg, "Contribution to the Elucidation of the Composition of Deuteronomy," 1232-1233.

rendering of the מן phrase.²⁵ Since the מן phrase is repeated towards the end of the verse, it is probable that the translator was trying to avoid a double rendering. Note also that the tendency to do away with a repeated word or a phrase is evident in Deut 32:15, where וַיִּשְׁמֶן (and he grew fat) is a ‘minus’ in the LXX because it occurs again immediately, or Deut 32:37 where the translator does not repeat the word θεός because he renders it for צִיר as well as אֱלֹהִים.

We would like to pay some attention to a switch from the first person to the third person singular at the beginning of the verse as found in our Greek text. Why does LXX Deuteronomy read in the third person singular whereas the three Hebrew readings have it in the first person?

Concerning the very purpose of MT choosing וָאוֹלָךְ (And I have led), Wevers points out that the intention of the text was to show YHWH as the speaker on account of the fact that the last clause of 29:5 has אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (I am YHWH your God). Therefore, since the context of vv. 4–5 is YHWH, the LXX changes into third person singular to make it clear that it refers to the Lord and that the readers would not take the first person verb as referring to Moses. By rendering the first person into third person here in v. 4 as well as in the last clause of v. 5, the translator, according to Wevers, levels the text.²⁶ McCarthy opines that this change in the LXX is due to the exegesis.²⁷ In his notes to Deut 21–34 within *Septuaginta Deutsch*, Cornelis den Hertog remarks that the change into third person was introduced in order to make it clear that Moses does not speak of himself here.²⁸

At first glance one may concur with Wevers and McCarthy. There may, however, be more than just mere leveling or harmonization due to exegesis. Lenchak has shown that there are only 4 occurrences of הִפְחִיל *hiphil* in Deuteronomy, viz., 8:2, 15; 28:36 and 29:4.²⁹ In the first three instances, it is the Lord who led (cf. 8:2, 15) or shall lead (cf. 28:36), with Moses as the speaker. Could we, then, presume that the translator or his *Vorlage* in 29:4 (5) is aware of the subject of this ‘leading’ as in the case of the other three instances noted above? It is a tall question, though. If the answer is in the affirmative, we have yet another instance where our translator seems to be

²⁵ Wevers only remarks, “LXX also omitted the מן phrase of the first clause, and hex added ἐπανῶθεν ὑμῶν under the asterisk to equal the missing מֵעֵלֶיכֶם.” See, Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 463.

²⁶ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 463.

²⁷ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 83.

²⁸ Cornelis den Hertog, Michael Labahn & Thomas Pola, “Deuteronomion/Deuteronomium/ Das fünfte Buch Mose,” in Martin Karrer & Wolfgang Kraus (eds.), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament, Band I—Genesis bis Makkabäer* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 588.

²⁹ Lenchak, “Choose Life!,” 183, no. 32.

very careful, and therefore, he renders his text not in the first person singular, but with YHWH as the subject, in the third person singular.

We must bear in mind that in a few instances, the LXX does have the tendency to make clear which speaker in fact is intended. Thus, while Deut 11:13 in MT has “to my commandments” (אֶל-מִצְוֹתַי), the Greek text reads “his commandments” (τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ), clarifying that the commandments are actually of God and not of Moses. This is also evident from Deut 31:23, which reads in the third person in the LXX instead of the first person in MT. As Ausloos has demonstrated, we should also remember that this situation from the first person to the third person is not a general tendency in the Greek text of Deuteronomy. So, we read that the text of Deut 8:1 in the LXX is identical to that of MT, when it speaks about giving of the commandments.³⁰

As we have seen above, 29:4-5 is YHWH’s speech addressed to the people in plural with a switch to a singular in 4b. In vv. 6-7, reference is to the “we”—“we defeated them” (i.e. Sihon the king of Heshbon, and Og the king of Bashan)... “we took their land... we gave it.” LXX reads v. 7 in the first person singular, i.e. ἔδωκα αὐτήν (I gave it). Concerning this change as seen in the Greek text, Wevers and McCarthy rightly opine that this shift to the first person singular is based on Deut 3:12-13, where it is actually Moses (and not the Israelites), who allots the land.³¹ Vv. 8-9 are in the second person plural and LXX Deuteronomy also reads similarly. Verse 10 is a mixture of plural and singular, and vv. 11-12 continue the singular address. Thereafter, plurals follow.

29:10 (11)

V. 10 (11) states that everyone is standing before YHWH. MT reads:

טַפְּכֶם וְנִשְׁיֶכֶם וְגֵרְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבְּךָ מִחֹטֵב עַד שְׂאֵב מִמֵּיָּה:

(your children, your wives, and thy stranger who is in the midst of thy camp, from the gatherer of thy wood to the drawer of thy water.)

While one may expect the verse in the Hebrew text to continue in plural, according to George Smith, the switch to a singular is on logical grounds.³²

³⁰ Hans Ausloos, “One to Three ... Some Aspects of the *Numeruswechsel* within the LXX of Deuteronomy,” in Martin Meiser, Michaela Geiger, Siegfried Kreuzer & Marcus Sigismund (eds.), *Die Septuaginta—Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz: 6. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 21.–24. Juli 2016*, WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 206-212.

³¹ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 464; McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 128*.

³² Thus, according to Smith, “The conception of the *gēr* as a proselyte and as under the covenant, and the mention of the temple-drudges may be taken (as by many critics) for signs of the late date of the whole passage. Or since their introduction is coincident with a change of

Two main issues can be observed in LXX Deuteronomy here: (i) the beginning of the verse reads in a different order; (ii) unlike the Hebrew text, the whole verse is in plural. LXX reads:

αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ξυλοκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἕως ὕδροφόρου ὑμῶν

(your wives and your descendants and the proselyte who is in the midst of your camp, from your woodcutter and to your water carrier)

Concerning the first issue, viz., reading of the verse in a different order, we can recognize two things:

- (a) SamP and 1QDeut^b agree with MT. There seems to be no good reason for LXX's change of the order here unless it is presumed that it was influenced by Deut 3:19 which in the Hebrew reads: ... וְשִׁיכֶם וְטַפְכֶם (your wives and your little ones...). Note that our Greek text in v. 10 (11) has a 'plus': καὶ (SamP and 1QDeut^b also have a 'plus': a *waw*, although both traditions retain the order of MT. For the rest of the verse, however, we have no evidence from DSS). Could it be that the translator/*Vorlage* wanted to present a gradation, hence: wives, children and then proselyte who did menial jobs? Women, children and the proselyte are once again listed in this order in 31:12, about which Wevers states that this list is by classes.³³ If that is the case there, perhaps the order in 29: 10 (11) in the LXX may be correct. We, however, leave it as an open question.
- (b) As Wevers shows, another interesting thing we notice is the rendering of טַפְכֶם as τὰ ἔκγονα (the descendants). Until this point, we observe that טַפְּךָ was rendered as τὰ ἔκγονα (cf. also Deut 7:17; 28:4, 11, 18, 51, 53), whereas here τὰ ἔκγονα is rendered for טָךְ.³⁴

We also recognize that the Greek text does not use a genitive pronoun when speaking about the proselyte. MT has וְגֵרְךָ (and thy stranger) and SamP agrees with MT over against the LXX reading καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος (and the proselyte). According to Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, the genitive pronoun in 29:10 (11) after the use of גֵּר is "undenkbar." He suggests that

address to the Sg., it is possibly a later gloss on the rest. Yet again the Sg. of 11b may be due to the attraction of the Sg. in vv. 12f., in which its use by a writer otherwise employing the Pl. may be explained on the ground that he is addressing the whole nation as one party to the Covenant; while in v. 14 he resumes the Pl., because there he is addressing the individuals of the present generation in distinction from others not present. Here then is a case on which the changes between Sg. and Pl. are reasonably explicable as by the same writer and on logical grounds." Cf., Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 323.

³³ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 496.

³⁴ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 466.

the translators followed an instinctive procedure, and although they wanted to pass the Hebrew text accurately, they had had the feeling that even without rendering a pronoun their text probably contained everything said in the original text. Soisalon-Soininen supposes this is understandable, since in Greek in the most relevant expressions the possessive relationship without the pronoun is already included.³⁵

LXX and SamP agree with each other over against MT at the end of the verse, in that both have a ‘plus’. The עַד (until) of MT is preceded by a conjunction in LXX and SamP: καὶ ἕως and ועד, which McCarthy regards as ‘facilitation of stylistic difficulty’ in that the ancient reader or translator seemed to have faced difficulty in the way the passage containing a particular case read.³⁶

Concerning the second issue, namely that the whole verse reads in the plural in LXX Deuteronomy, McCarthy seems right in pointing out that the plural here manifests harmonization of syntax.³⁷

29:11-12 (12-13)

Verse 11 (12) follows up the second singular tradition from the second half of v. 10 (11) in MT till v. 12 (13). In these two verses, SamP agrees with MT with only a slight difference. For MT’s לָעִבְרָךְ (that thou shouldest enter), SamP has לְהַעֲבִיךָ (to cause to enter thee). Only a very minute fragment from DSS (1QDeut^b) survives, which as reworked, agrees with MT and SamP in reading the second person singular. In both these verses, the Greek text also reads in the singular. While at first glance it may seem that v. 11 follows the singular from the second half of the preceding verse, it seems the singular in v. 12 is intentional. Begg contends that the singular in v. 12 is used from the singular formulation of 28:9, which states: יְקִימְךָ יְהוָה לְוָעָם (YHWH shall establish thee as a people). Interestingly, the LXX reads in singular in 28:9: ἀναστήσαι σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἑαυτῷ λαὸν (Lord the God cause thee himself to arise as a people). The Lord is cutting the covenant with a specific purpose, viz., “to establish thee as a people...” Weinfeld identifies “to establish as a people to him” as Deuteronomic phraseology and points out its usage in Deut 28:9 and 29:12.³⁸ This again is, therefore, an evidence to

³⁵ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Auslassung des Possessivpronomens im griechischen Pentateuch,” in Anneli Aejmelaeus & Raija Sollamo (eds.), *Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen: Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax. Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987*, AASF Series B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 102.

³⁶ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 84.

³⁷ McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 84.

³⁸ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 327.

contend that our translator or his *Vorlage* maintains the same approach in cases of the so-called stereotypical language. It, hence, seems plausible to discover the reasoning of second singulars in the LXX's reading here.

Note also the use of "thy fathers" in the book of Deuteronomy. In 6 cases, אָבוֹת (fathers) is used with the second person masculine plural suffix in conjunction with the ל preposition, i.e. לְאֲבֹתֵיכֶם (to your fathers) in Deut 1:8, 35; 7:8; 8:1; 11:9, 21. However, with the singular suffix, אָבוֹת (fathers) with the ל preposition is used as many as 12 times: לְאֲבֹתֶיךָ (to thy fathers). Cf. Deut 6:10, 18; 7:12, 13; 8:18; 9:5; 13:18 (17); 19:8 (2×); 28:11; 29:12 (13); 30:20.

"To thy fathers" is mainly associated either with the "land" (cf. 6:10, 18; 7:13; 19:8; 28:11; 30:20) or directly with the "covenant" (cf. 7:12; 8:18; 29:12) or with an indication to it (cf. 13:18; 19:8). Only in one instance, namely Deut 9:5 is לְאֲבֹתֶיךָ (to thy fathers) associated with "the word" —הַדְּבָר—that YHWH promised. Except for the last instance, i.e. 9:5, the LXX reads the phrase in second singular in line with MT. This may again indicate that instead of manifesting a harmonizing tendency, our translator or his *Vorlage* uses a singular in these verses i.e., vv. 11-12 (12-13).

There is a slight change in the person in v. 13 (14). While the preceding verse speaks of YHWH, the tone changes to first person singular אֲנִי כָרַת (I cut the covenant). Begg maintains that Moses concludes the covenant which in 28:69 YHWH commanded him to cut with the people. Hence, the switch to the first person singular. We observed above in v. 4 (5) that the LXX text reads in third person singular for MT's first person singular. Here, however, our Greek text reads in line with MT. According to Wevers, "LXX is simply following MT."³⁹ In the rest of the chapter, plurals ensue.

CONCLUSION

This short analysis of the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* in Deut 29 has shown that context seems to play an important part for the translator of the book of Deuteronomy. In what we have seen, the translator or his *Vorlage* smoothes out the text by rendering a complete verse in the plural where MT changes the number. This is evident in our analysis of Deut 29:4 (5). He harmonizes the text according to the context. In some other occasion, it is the translator or his *Vorlage* that changes the person. This manifests

³⁹ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 469.

his awareness of the broader context of the whole book. Therefore, instead of the first person singular, he renders the text in the third person singular in 29: 4 (5). In other instances, he deliberately chooses not to harmonize the number, but consistently renders a theological Deuteronomic phraseology as we have seen in 29:2 (3) and 29: 12 (13).

Our analysis of the rendering of the *Numeruswechsel* can give us some indications about the so-called translation technique of Greek Deuteronomy. When the translator does not smooth out the apparent irregularities, it seems he remains closer to his presumed *Vorlage*. Moreover, wherever harmonizing tendencies are evident in the Greek text, it may be attributed to the *Vorlage* and not to the translator. This short presentation has shown how the *Numeruswechsel* as a content and context related criterion was dealt with in LXX Deuteronomy/or its *Vorlage*. More research on this criterion is indispensable in order to understand the enigmatic *Numeruswechsel* within the whole book of Deuteronomy.

ANTONY J. KHOKHAR

Holy Trinity Regional Major Seminary,

Jalandhar, INDIA 144 009

antonykhokhar@gmail.com

Psalm 7 in Greek: Three Forays into the Secret World of OG

Dr. Jannes SMITH

ABSTRACT

With a nod to Pierre Berton's classic children's tale, *The Secret World of Og*, this paper engages the ongoing pursuit for the Old Greek text of Psalms. In the absence of a fully-critical edition for Septuagint Psalms, it falls to commentators to survey the manuscript evidence and leverage translation technique in order to evaluate and improve upon Alfred Rahlfs' semi-critical and dated edition. This paper explores three text-critical problems from Psalm 7, illustrating that one can access the world of OG through the rather different but interconnected caverns of source text, translation technique, and transmission history.

For a number of years now, I've enjoyed the good family custom of reading a bedtime story to our five children.¹ Several years ago we tackled Pierre Berton's classic tale, *The Secret World of Og*, said to be his personal favorite of all the books he had written—small wonder, since it features his own five children, the oldest five of an eventual eight.² Penny, the eldest daughter, left in charge of the youngest (Paul, nicknamed “the Pollywog,” who at age one was already a formidable escape artist), has the fright of her life when he disappears once again, despite the fact that she had locked him securely inside the family playhouse. It turns out that the Pollywog had been pulled down underground through a trapdoor in the floor by a little green critter. In a wonderfully imaginative adventure, Penny and her siblings climb down through the trapdoor in pursuit of their little brother and find themselves in the underground tunnels of the secret world of Og.

It seems to me that Septuagint scholars are engaged in a comparable (if not quite as desperate) pursuit, namely to find OG (the Old Greek text) amid the myriad variants left to us in the copies and recensions of the Septuagint.

¹ A draft of this article was presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies in Toronto. Questions and critical comments from the audience helped to improve its contents, as did feedback received from anonymous peer reviewers.

² Pierre Berton, *The Secret World of Og* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1961; repr. Doubleday Canada, 2002).

Retracing the steps of the translator is particularly difficult for the book of Psalms, not only because of the sheer number of surviving manuscripts (roughly ten times more than the next most copied book—Genesis),³ but also because a fully-critical edition of the Greek Psalter has not yet been published.⁴ The best edition, Alfred Rahlfs' *Psalmi cum Odis* in the Göttingen series, is a significant achievement and generally reliable, but nevertheless has limitations and faults.⁵ As I whittle away on the Psalms volume for the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint,⁶ I regularly find myself wondering whether Rahlfs was right, evaluating his choices in light of translation technique, and checking the manuscripts he consulted and other manuscripts which were not available to him. After all, one can only comment responsibly on what the translation originally *meant* once one has established with reasonable certainty what it originally *said*. Certainty is often elusive, and sometimes one has to be content with listing the options in order of probability. In this article I'd like to present three text-critical artifacts from Psalm 7 in order to illustrate that one can indeed access the world of OG by spelunking one's way through the interconnected tunnels of source text, translation technique, and transmission history.

ARTIFACT 1: Ps 7:4–6

Hebrew text⁷

יהוה אלהי אם עשיתי זאת אם יש עול בכפי
 אם גמלתי שולמי רע ואחלצה צוררי ריקם
 ירדף אויב נפשי וישג וירמס לארץ חיי וכבודי לעפר ישכן סלה

³ Albert Pietersma, "Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter," in *A Question of Methodology: Albert Pietersma: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (ed. C. Boyd-Taylor; BTS 14; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 57–85 (58).

⁴ On the prospects for such an edition, see Jannes Smith, "10.3.1 Psalms: Primary Translations: Septuagint," in *Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 1: *The Hebrew Bible*, part 1c: *Writings* (ed. A. Lange and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 82–88 (85).

⁵ Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979 [1931]). Besides an early review by P. L. Hedley, "The Göttingen Investigation and Edition of the Septuagint," *HTR* 26 (1933): 57–72, its weaknesses are best documented in a variety of articles by Albert Pietersma. See, e.g., his "The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter," in Boyd-Taylor, *Question of Methodology*, 109–32.

⁶ For information on SBLCS, see <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/>.

⁷ The Hebrew text is that of Codex Leningrad (stripped of vowel pointing and punctuation), as printed in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983). This is not to presume that this text is identical to the *Vorlage* of OG Psalms, but simply to provide a practical starting point. Boxed words mark the text-critical problem at issue.

Translation⁸

Yhwh my God, if I have done this, if there is injustice in my hands,
if I required my ally with evil *or despoiled my foe without cause*,
May an enemy hunt my soul and overtake, and may he trample my life to
the ground and lay my honour in the dust. *Selah*

Rahlfs⁹

κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, εἰ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν χερσίν μου,
εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδούσιν μοι κακά, ἀποπέσοιν ἄρα ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν μου κενός,
καταδιώξαι ἄρα ὁ ἐχθρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ καταλάβοι καὶ καταπατήσαι
εἰς γῆν τὴν ζωὴν μου καὶ τὴν δόξαν μου εἰς χοῦν κατασκηνώσει.
διάψαλμα.

NETS¹⁰

O Lord my God, if I did this, if there is injustice in my hands,
if I repaid those who repaid me with evil, *then may I ^afall away empty from^a*
my enemies;
may^b the enemy pursue and overtake my soul and trample my life to the ground
and make my glory encamp in the dust. *Interlude on strings*
^aPossibly *be totally ineffective against* | ^bPr then = Rahlfs

When one compares the Greek and Hebrew texts, one immediately notices two differences. The first is syntactic: the Greek has one fewer *if*-clause and one more *then*-clause. That difference is not surprising: the Hebrew verb **נָצַחַנִּי** has a prefixed *waw*, which could be construed either as continuing the protasis or as starting the apodosis. The Greek translator opted for the latter.¹¹ It seems that he read the Hebrew verb as a cohortative with modal force (“let me...”), and thus cast it as an optative (“may I...”). To mark the

⁸ English translation of the Hebrew is mine. Underlined italics mark the text-critical problem at issue.

⁹ The Greek text is that of Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, not to presume that its lemma is OG, but simply because it is the best edition currently available. Underlined italics mark the text-critical problem at issue.

¹⁰ English translation of the Greek is from *A New Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title* (ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Underlined italics mark the text-critical problem at issue. Footnotes are NETS’.

¹¹ Aquila read **נָצַחַנִּי** as *wayyiqtol* and wrote another aorist (καὶ ἐρρυσάμην τοὺς ἐνδεσμοῦντάς με ματαίως “and [if] I rescued those who bound me without reason”), while Symmachus made the protasis explicit by repeating εἰ: εἰ ἀνήρπασα τοὺς θλίβοντάς με ματαίως “if I carried off those who afflicted me without reason” (F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* [repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964], 2.94). See Ps 43:21 and 80:14 where LXX repeats εἰ without formal warrant from the Hebrew. Here, however, prompted by the non-repetition of **נָצַחַנִּי** and the shift from the *qatal* to the cohortative form, the translator understood **נָצַחַנִּי** to begin the apodosis.

start of the apodosis, he translated the *waw* with a functional equivalent, the inferential particle ἄρα, which, being postpositive, he then placed after the verb.¹²

The second difference is more difficult to explain, namely the use of ἀποπίπτω “to fall away” for גָּחַל “to plunder.” The meaning is quite different, and the equation is unusual: elsewhere in Psalms the Hebrew verb is translated with ῥύομαι “to rescue” (6×) or its synonym ἐξαίρῶ “to deliver” (5×). *BHS* suggests that the translator read גָּחַל, from גָּחַל “to oppress.” In other words one should transpose *lamed* and *het*.¹³ To replace גָּחַל with גָּחַל does not get us any closer to ἀποπίπτω, however. גָּחַל in Psalms is translated not with ἀποπίπτω but with θλίβω “to afflict” (55:2, 105:42). That then led me to consider a conjecture, namely that the translator wrote not ἀποπέσοιν “may I fall away,” but ἀποπιέσοιν “may I squeeze out, or press,” from ἀποπιέζω (also spelled ἀποπιάζω), a synonym of θλίβω.¹⁴ The loss of an iota would be an easy scribal error, and the conjecture could account for a source text that had גָּחַל “to oppress.” To be sure, ἀποπιέσοιν “may I squeeze out” doesn’t exactly clarify the meaning of the clause, but that often wasn’t the translator’s first concern anyway.¹⁵

In the end, however, I decided not to adopt the conjecture. For one thing, the Psalms translator does not otherwise use ἀποπιέζω. Furthermore, there is a way to account for ἀποπίπτω that does not require a Hebrew text different from the Masoretic Text. If one assumes that the translator read a source text identical to MT, and if one bears in mind his well-documented tendency to maintain Hebrew-Greek equivalents, the translator’s default choice for גָּחַל would be ῥύομαι. In that case he might have written, ῥυσοίμην ἄρα τοὺς

¹² That this use of ἄρα is normal Greek can be confirmed by an example from non-translation literature: Κύρος δ’ εἶπεν: οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταῦταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις “Cyrus had said, ‘Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days’” (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia in Two Volumes* [ed. W. Miller; London: Heinemann / New York: Macmillan, 1914], 1.7.18). Apodoses elsewhere in Psalms have ἄρα for both אזי “then” (123:3–5) and אך “only” (57:12) and τότε “then” for אז “then” (18:14, 118:92) but are unmarked if the source text is likewise unmarked. For example, though 136:5–6 too has self-imprecations, its apodoses lack ἄρα because there is no formal warrant for it in the source text. Clearly, then, ἄρα here is quantitatively a placeholder for γ, though qualitatively it has a consequential stress that is absent in the Hebrew.

¹³ On the Hebrew side there is some support for this possibility from Ps 55 (MT 56):2, where גָּחַל runs parallel with שָׁאָה “trample,” just as it runs parallel to רָמַס “trample” here.

¹⁴ The form ἀποπέσοιν is an older spelling of ἀποπέσοιμι, the 1st person active optative of ἀποπίπτω. Both forms are attested in the manuscript evidence, and Rahlfs favoured the former as OG.

¹⁵ Much has been written on the translation technique of OG Psalms. For a convenient summary of the translational norms that underlie the Greek Psalter, one may consult C. Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies* (BTS 8; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 219–66, esp. 265.

ἐχθρούς μου κενός “then may I rescue my enemies empty-handed.” Such a sentiment would hardly amount to a self-imprecation, however. Hence, feeling compelled to cast the psalmist not as saviour but as victim of his enemies, the translator departed from his usual equivalent. Anticipating that the psalmist would be captured and trampled in v.6 (καταδιώξει ὁ ἐχθρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ καταλάβοι “may the enemy pursue and overtake my soul”), he opted for ἀποπίπτω, which, being an intransitive verb, required a further adjustment, so he inserted another ἀπό after the verb. In this first artifact, then, the exercise of retracing the translator’s steps confirms that Rahlfs’ lemma is indeed OG.

ARTIFACT 2: Ps 7:9

Hebrew text

יהוה ידין עמים שפטני יהוה כצדקי וכתמי עלי

Translation

Yhwh will judge the peoples; vindicate me, Yhwh, according to my righteousness and according to my integrity upon me.

Rahlfs

κύριος κρινεῖ λαούς· κρῖνόν με, κύριε, κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀκακίαν μου ἐπ’ ἐμοί.

NETS

The Lord will judge peoples; ^s*do me justice*^s, O Lord, according to my righteousness and according to the innocence in me.

^s*judge me* = Rahlfs

Here the issue is whether the pronoun is accusative (με) or dative (μοι). If accusative, the clause would mean, “judge me,” but if dative, it would mean, “judge in my favour,” or “do me justice,” as NETS has it. There is no question as to which reading best suits the context. One would expect the psalmist to pray for favourable judgment, so it is no surprise that a number of witnesses have the *dativus commodi*, κρῖνόν μοι “do me justice.”¹⁶ The question, however, is whether the dative is due to the translator or to a later scribe. Rahlfs thought it was a later scribe and considered the accusative to be original, with

¹⁶ Rahlfs cites A, 55, some 45 Lucianic manuscripts, and Hesychius’ commentary. It should be noted that Rahlfs simply appropriated the Lucianic evidence from Robert Holmes and James Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus* (vol. 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1823), without weighing it afresh. His rather monolithic treatment of this evidence is considered by both Hedley and Pietersma to be one of the weaknesses of his edition. See note 5 above.

plenty of manuscript evidence to support his view.¹⁷ At the same time, Rahlfs was well aware that there are other examples in Psalms in which some witnesses have the dative with κρίνω and others the accusative, citing 9:39, 25:1, 34:24, 42:1, 53:3, and 81:3 as further examples. One finds an uncontested example of the accusative in 71:4, where one might perhaps have expected a dative: κρίνει τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ σώσει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν πενήτων “He will judge the poor of the people and save the sons of the needy.” That might suggest that G translated mechanically with little concern for contextual sense. On the other hand, the uncontested instance of the dative in 9:39 suggests that G did use the *dativus commodi* with κρίνω where appropriate: κρίναι ὀρφανῶ καὶ ταπεινῶ “to do justice for the orphan and the humble.” Robert Helbing attributed the accusative to the Hebrew and the dative to a later corrector who wanted to improve the Greek.¹⁸ It should be noted, however, that a verbal suffix in Hebrew does not necessarily trigger an *accusative* pronoun in Greek. The source text triggered the pronoun, yes, but not the case of the pronoun. Further, it can be postulated that the accusative arose in transmission history as a harmonization to κρίνει λαοὺς in the preceding clause, which is likewise accusative. Hence NETS has adopted the dative as OG, and I tend to agree. This does not mean that the Greek translation is interpretive to a significant degree. After all, Hebrew lexica tell us that the source text itself implies a favourable judgment here: שפּטני means “vindicate me.”¹⁹ At most, then, the translator displays sensitivity to context, being careful to capture the difference between the Lord’s judgment of the psalmist and his judgment of the peoples.²⁰

ARTIFACT 3: Ps 7:12

Hebrew text

אלהים שופט צדיק ואל זעם בכל יום

Translation

God is a righteous judge, and a God indignant on every day.

¹⁷ B, R, S, and 2025 have με. 2225 (a 6th-century papyrus fragment not available to Rahlfs) has the accusative as well. See Michael Gronewald, “Psalm 7, 4–10,” in *Kölner Papyri (P.Köln)*, (*Pap. Col.* VII.10; ed. M. Gronewald et al.; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003), nr. 405, 31–32 (32).

¹⁸ R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928), 97 (“um dem Griechischen mehr gerecht zu werden”).

¹⁹ So, e.g., David J. A. Clines, *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–2011), 8:533.

²⁰ Analogous examples outside the Psalter of κρίνω + *dativus commodi* for שפּט + direct object to indicate favourable judgment may be found at 2 Rgns 18:19, 31 (*Kaige*) and Esa 1:17, 23.

Rahlfs

ὁ θεὸς κριτὴς δίκαιος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακρόθυμος
μὴ ὀργῇ ἐπάγων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.

NETS

God is a righteous judge, ⁱ[and strong and patient]ⁱ,
one who does not bring on wrath every day.

ⁱWithout [] = Ra

Its disagreement with MT makes this one of the most fascinating verses in the Greek Psalter. The Hebrew says that “God is a righteous judge and a God indignant every day,” but the Greek has rather a different portrayal of the divine judge. He is said to be “strong and patient.” One can postulate two explanations for this intriguing addition. The first is that it is due either to the translator or to a later scribe without warrant from the source text. It arose on the Greek side. The second is that it is to be ascribed to a source text different from MT. It arose on the Hebrew side.

Let us begin with the first scenario, that LXX has an addition without warrant from the source text. The question then becomes whether such an addition is better attributed to the translator or to a later scribe.²¹ In favour of the translator is the fact that the reading pervades nearly the entire manuscript tradition. Against it, however, is the fact that *this* translator was loath to make interpretive additions: a plus such as this runs counter to the quantitative fidelity characteristic of the Greek Psalter. Hence NETS has bracketed the phrase to indicate that its originality is “suspect.”²² Rahlfs, too, regarded

²¹ Mozley cites Baethgen's view that it is an explanatory gloss on μὴ ὀργῇ ἐπάγων (F. W. Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: The Septuagint Psalms Compared with the Hebrew, with Various Notes* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905], 15). Flashar, however, considered this solution unnecessary, observing (without citing examples) that the Psalm translator more often multiplied divine attributes (M. Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,” ZAW 32 [1912]: 81–116, 161–189, 241–268 [264 n3]). More recently, Eberhard Bons, too, has suggested a relationship between the addition of καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακρόθυμος and the decision to translate לֹא as negative particle: “Il est évident que ces deux écarts influent l'un sur l'autre: Si Dieu n'est pas en colère chaque jour c'est que sa longanimité l'empêche d'y céder...La LXX insiste sur l'idée théologique capitale que Dieu, tout en agissant en juste juge, est longanime vis-à-vis des pécheurs” (“Psaume 7 dans la version de la Septante,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 77.4 [2003]: 512–28 [523]). So too in his explanation of Ps 7:12 for LXX.D, Bons writes that the LXX “bringt somit zwei Fähigkeiten Gottes miteinander in Verbindung: die Bereitschaft, seine Gerechtigkeit zu verwirklichen, und die Langmut gegenüber den Sündern” (*Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament* [ed. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011], 2:1514). While this may be true for the Greek psalm read as literary text, it does not address the critical question of responsibility, i.e. whether the addition is attributable to the translator or to a copyist and, concomitantly, whether this “idée théologique” is intrinsic to OG or a feature of early reception history.

²² A. Pietersma, “To the Reader of Psalms,” in *NETS*, 542–47 (542).

ἰσχυρός as suspect; he called it an addition “apparently not due to the translator himself” (*non ab ipso interprete ortum vid.*). How then might it have entered the text? Perhaps an early scribe observed that the translator had written μή for אַל, and said scribe noted in the margin that אַל could also be translated as ἰσχυρός, and this explanatory gloss subsequently made it into the text.²³ As for καὶ μακρόθυμος, Rahlfs notes that these words are marked with an obelus in the Gallican Psalter. In other words, Origen felt they ought to be omitted. But since Origen did not actually delete obelized items, this note simply confirms that the phrase was already present in his Greek text. In other words, it is pre-hexaplaric. In short, if one assumes a source text identical to MT, then the Greek addition καὶ ἰσχυρός καὶ μακρόθυμος is indeed “suspect,” though its universal attestation makes one hesitate to omit it. Not a very satisfactory solution!

That brings us to the second scenario, namely to consider the plus to be OG and due to a source text different from MT. In that case, the verse in the *Vorlage* might be reconstructed as follows:

אלהים שופט צדיק ואל וארך אפים אל זעם בכל יום²⁴ “God is a righteous judge and a God and one slow to anger, a God / not? showing indignation every day.”²⁵

The Committee of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (HOTTP), whose findings are published in Barthélemy’s five-volume *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament* (CTAT), considered it very unlikely that the above reconstruction could be original or could ever have existed in Hebrew.²⁶ It gave

²³ A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, II: *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters, nebst einem Anhang: Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W. E. Crum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907 [repr. 1965]), 139. As further support, Rahlfs cites Ps 41:3, where ἰσχυρός is a hexaplaric addition that translates MT אַל “God.”

²⁴ D. Barthélemy *et al.*, eds., *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*, Tome 4: *Psaumes* (Fribourg: Academic Press / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 20: “Le LXX pré-suppose, entre אַל et זַעַם, l’insertion de אַל אַפִּים אַרְךְ. Le TM serait alors le résultat d’un homéotéléuton sur אַל.” Jacob Leveen has proposed a different reconstruction for ἰσχυρός, namely גדול כח “great in strength” (cf. Nah 1:3; LXX μεγάλη ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτοῦ), but he offers no explanation as to how such a phrase could subsequently have dropped out of the Hebrew text (“The Textual Problems of Psalm vii,” *VT* 16 [1966]: 439–45 [442]). In that regard אַל has better explanatory potential. For references to a variety of other conjectures proposed for the Hebrew verse, one may consult Gert Kwakkel (‘According to my Righteousness’: *Upright Behaviour as Grounds for Deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26 and 44* [Kampen: Van den Berg, 2001], 27–8), who summarily dismisses them and defends MT.

²⁵ Translation is mine. The אַרְךְ אַפִּים אַרְךְ can be read either as an adjective (“long of”) or as a substantive (“one long of”; Clines, *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 1:379). Here its coordination with שופט “judge” may suggest the latter. Whether one reads אַל² as “God” or as “not” depends on vowel pointing and grammatical context. See further below.

²⁶ Barthélemy, *CTAT: Psaumes*, 20. For information on the background, membership, and aims of the HOTTP, see D. Barthélemy, *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An*

three reasons for this view. First, the three other occurrences of the expression **אֵל אֲרֵךְ אַפַּיִם** in MT Psalms are preceded by **הִנֵּן וְרַחוּם** and followed by **וּרְבַּח חֶסֶד** (86[85]:15, 103[102]:8) or by **וְגִדֵּל חֶסֶד** (145[144]:8), echoing the well-known formula of Exodus 34.6, and thus these three instances cannot be considered true parallels to its occurrence here. While this observation is true enough, it does not rule out the possibility that this expression could have occurred in the Hebrew psalm. Second, the Committee noted that it would be abnormal in Hebrew for the negative particle **אֵל** to precede the participle **וְעַם**, while **μή** before a participle is normal in Greek. This objection is legitimate and will be dealt with below. Third, the reconstructed *Vorlage* has a stand-alone **וְאֵל** which hardly makes good sense before what follows it, while its Greek counterpart fits quite well.²⁷ This objection, too, will be dealt with below. In short, when one considers the problem from the perspective of the textual criticism of the Hebrew, one is not inclined to prefer the reconstruction over the reading of MT: not only does it lack Hebrew manuscript support, but its syntax is infelicitous.

If, however, one approaches the problem from a different angle, namely how best to account for the *Greek* text, the reconstruction has at least five considerations to commend it. First, the absence of **וְאֵל אֲרֵךְ אַפַּיִם** in MT is then attributable to parablepsis from the first to the second occurrence of **אֵל**. Second, such a parablepsis can also explain another disagreement between LXX and MT, namely the omission of **καὶ** before **μή** at the start of the second stich.²⁸ To put it differently, if one assumes a source text *identical* to MT, one must also explain why the translator left out the conjunction *contra* MT, whereas the reconstruction needs no such explanation.²⁹ Third, **μακρόθυμος** is a consistent equivalent for the expression **אֲרֵךְ אַפַּיִם** “patient” in the Greek Psalter, and is therefore an item which one could reasonably account for as a translation from Hebrew.³⁰ Fourth, to attribute the added Greek words to the source text fits with the quantitative equivalence that is typical of the Psalms translator. Fifth, the reconstructed phrase provides motivation for the translator to read the second **אֵל** as “not” (**אֵל**) rather than as “God” (**אֵל**) since to write “not” produces parallelism but to write “God” produces an apparent

Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project (trans. S. Pisano *et al.*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), esp. xv–xxviii, 82–97, and 137–141.

²⁷ Barthélemy, *CTAT: Psaumes*, 20.

²⁸ The conjunction is attested only in Rahlfs’ Lucianic group.

²⁹ Thus, for example, Macintosh’s view that **ισχυρός** and **μή** constitute “a double translation” of **אֵל** ignores the detail that **καὶ** precedes the former but not the latter (A. A. Macintosh, “A Consideration of Psalm 7:12f.,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 33.2 [Oct 1982]: 481–90 [483]).

³⁰ See 85:15, 102:8, and 144:8.

contradiction or paradox.³¹ Whether the translator was correct to do so is, of course, a different question. Barthélemy *cum suis* were quite right: if זעם is a participle—MT points it as such, and LXX does have a participial phrase—one would not expect the negative particle לא, and conversely, if לא were a negative particle, one would expect it to be followed by a jussive rather than a participle.³² The logical conclusion to draw, however, is not that the *Vorlage* did *not* contain the word לא but that it *did* contain it, and that the translator misread it as a negative particle in order to make coherent sense of two otherwise conflicting perspectives on God. That then leaves one to consider the intriguing possibility that the Hebrew psalmist intended a paradoxical description of God as someone who is both slow to anger and expressing indignation every day, and that the well-intentioned translator eliminated or “solved” the paradox by reading לא as “not.”

To be sure, one may question the premise that the translator wrote καὶ ἰσχυρός for לא, since אל “God” is virtually always θεός in Psalms and ἰσχυρός occurs only here in Psalms. Yet there is grammatical reason for the translator to depart from the norm and translate לא with an adjective here, in a series of divine attributes, since to write θεός would be tautologous at best.³³ In short, I agree with Rahlfs that ἰσχυρός translates לא, but I disagree with his view that it is a later gloss. To be sure, in the absence of Hebrew attestation, the Hebrew reconstruction must remain a conjecture, but it seems to me that it best accounts for both the ubiquity of the Greek plus in the manuscript evidence and the translation technique of OG Psalms.

³¹ To explore this possibility and its theological implications goes beyond the scope of this article, however. Suffice it to say that the paradox need not be considered an irresolvable contradiction if one bears in mind God’s differing judgment of the righteous and of the peoples (v.9; see Artifact 2 above). Much has been written on the meaning of the Hebrew verse, including suggestions as to the meanings of the verb זעם and the phrase בכל יום, but these, too, fall outside the scope of this article. See, e.g., Macintosh, “Consideration,” 481–90, and Kwakkel, ‘According to My Righteousness’, 28, 48, as well as standard commentaries on the psalm.

³² Barthélemy, *CTAT: Psaumes*, 20; Macintosh, “Consideration,” 483.

³³ One does find ἰσχυρός for לא elsewhere in the LXX: 2 Rgns (*Kaige*) 22:31, 32, 48, 23:5, and 2 Esd 11:5, 19:31, 32, all of God. When this article was submitted for publication, an anonymous peer reviewer offered an intriguing alternative, namely that OG had καὶ ἰσχυρός for לא, that a later scribe read לא twice—the second as a negation to be translated with μή—producing the statement that “God is a righteous and strong judge, one who does *not* bring on wrath every day,” and that the scribe then inserted καὶ μακρόθυμος to clear up the contradiction. Such a solution raises additional difficulties, however (see also footnote 29 above): it presumes that καὶ μακρόθυμος is secondary, though there is little attestation for its omission, and it does not explain why said scribe should opt for καὶ μακρόθυμος in particular. Hence it does not appear to be a simpler solution than the one offered here.

In conclusion, this article has presented three forays into the Septuagint text of Psalm 7 that illustrate the complexities of establishing the Old Greek. To a certain extent, the conclusions drawn are no more than probabilities. The three artifacts are not intended, however, to leave the impression that “Og” is a *lost* world. The main contours of OG are abundantly clear, as are most of its details, and even if some of its nooks remain murky, they’re fun to explore.

DR. JANNES SMITH
Canadian Reformed Theological Seminary
Hamilton, ON

“Physicians” in LXX Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14: The Septuagint Rendering as a Polemic against the Hellenistic Cultural-Religious Environment

Alexey SOMOV

ABSTRACT

In the LXX version of Ps 87:11 (MT 88:11) and Isa 26:14a, the Hebrew *rəphā'im* (“the spirits of the dead”) is translated as *iatroi* (“physicians”), while *yāqūmū* (“will rise up”) is rendered as *anastēsousin/anastēsōsin* (“will raise up”). It appears that for the translators of the LXX the direct connection of *rəphā'im* with the other-world was lost, since they never translate it as such. In the context of Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14, they understood it to be pointed as *rōphā'im* (“healers”), and rendered the verb *qūm* as a transitive verb. This article argues that the reason for this rendering is connected with the controversy between the Jewish community in Alexandria and the pagan cult of Asclepius and the Hellenistic medical practices related to Asclepius, which flourished in this city.

INTRODUCTION¹

As is well known, the text of the Septuagint (LXX) in some cases differs from the Hebrew original from which it was translated. Variant readings in the LXX are due not only to a possible different textual basis or different reading traditions of the Hebrew text underlying this Greek translation, but also to the translation technique, i.e., purely translational reasons. As Emanuel Tov indicates, “the translation contains much evidence of contextual exegesis, in both minor and major details.”² At the same time, the degree to which the LXX has reinterpreted its source text is by no means homogeneous, since the Hebrew material was translated by different people at different times. Although many biblical key terms, especially those that have a strong theological content, are generally rendered consistently,³ there are some

¹ The author is grateful to D. Clark, S. Kreuzer, I. Miroshnikov, M. Seleznev, V. Voinov, and two anonymous reviewers for important comments and advice about this study.

² Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 420.

³ For instance, אֱלֹהִים (“God”) is fairly consistently translated as θεός, יהוה (YHWH) as κύριος (“the Lord”), and תּוֹרָה (“law”, “teaching”) as νόμος.

as to whether it was simply a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew text as it was understood by the translators, or whether their translation decision was influenced by their exegetical intentions. In what follows, I suggest that the translators chose their renderings deliberately. These translation decisions were influenced by the polemic against the cult of Asclepius, the pagan god of healing, and probably also against some Hellenistic medical practices connected with this cult.⁹ Asclepius was widely venerated in Hellenistic culture and undoubtedly was well known in Alexandria, the location of the Jewish community in which the LXX was created.

1. THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS OF PS 88:11 (LXX 87:11) AND ISA 26:14A

As indicated above, the LXX translations of Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14a have similar renderings. These verses show a dependency, but it is difficult to decide which translation was produced first.¹⁰ Nevertheless, from a linguistic

49-50; H. Rouillard, "Rephaim," in *DDD*, ed. Karel van der Toom, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 699; Tyler F. Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, Peter J. Gentry. JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 267–268; Michaël N. van der Meer, "Question of the Literary Dependence of the Greek Isaiah upon the Greek Psalter Revisited," in *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.-27.7.2008*, ed. W. Kraus, M. Karrer, M. Meiser, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2010), 162–200; Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum Griechischen Alten Testament. Bd. 2: Psalmen bis Daniel* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 1750, 2570; Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2014), 391.

⁹ The idea that the translators of Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14 had in mind certain polemical ideas was put forth already by I.L. Seeligmann (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* [Leiden: Brill, 1948], 72). However, this scholar did not develop it. Erich Zenger refers to the polemic against Hellenistic culture as a possible reason for the corresponding translation of רָפָאִים, but does not mention the cult of Asclepius; see Frank-Lothar Hossfeld et al., *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005), 397. Michaël N. van der Meer also indicates that "the Greek version of Isaiah can well be explained against the background of its cultural context" and rightly suggests that ἰατροί in Isa 26:14 and Ps 87:11 can be connected with the cults of Isis and Asclepius ("Question of the Literary Dependence," 168–170). However, the format and purpose of his article do not allow van der Meer to develop his argument. For that reason, he provides no references from Greco-Roman sources about Asclepius. My interpretation of the issue was arrived at independently, but van der Meer's conclusion completely supports what I am arguing here.

¹⁰ It is difficult to find a consensus among researchers of the LXX on this matter. For instance, Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs suggests a possible influence of Greek psalms on the Book of Isaiah but does not come to any unequivocal decision; van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*, 391–409.

point of view one can explain why in these two verses רָפָאִים was translated as ἰατροί and יָקִימוּ as ἀναστήσουσιν/ἀναστήσωσιν. As is well known, the Hebrew text of the Bible did not have any vocalization at that time. Therefore translators had to rely solely on their knowledge of Hebrew and their understanding of the context.¹¹ In addition, translators sometimes adapted their translation according to their theological attitudes and created new contexts and meanings for the words they translated.¹² This is especially noticeable in the translation of the Book of Isaiah, which is characterized as more free in comparison with many other books in the LXX.¹³

Probably in both LXX Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14a יָקִימוּ (literally “will rise”; qal, imperfect, 3rd person masculine plural) was understood as יָקִימוּ (literally “will raise”; hiphil, imperfect, 3rd person masculine plural). Thus, יָקִימוּ has become ἀναστήσουσιν/ἀναστήσωσιν (“will raise”).¹⁴ However, why was this change made? Before answering this question, we need to investigate first why רָפָאִים became ἰατροί. We can start with a short list of the ways in which רָפָאִים is translated in the LXX:

- 1) ancient giants—γίγαντες (“giants”) in Gen 14:5; Jos 12:4; 13:12; 1 Chr 11:15; 14:9; 20:4; Prov 21:16; Job 26:5; Isa 14:9; τιτῶνες (“the Titans”) in 2 Sam 5:18, 22; γηγενές (“the earth born”) in Prov 2:18; 9:18;¹⁵

¹¹ James Barr, “Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators,” in *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*, ed. B. Hartmann, E. Jenni, E.Y. Kutscher, V. Maag, I.L. Seeligmann, R. Smend, VTSup 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1–11.

¹² Eberhard Bons, “Der Septuaginta-Psalter Übersetzung, Interpretation, Korrektur,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin Karrer & Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 450–470; M. Seleznev, “In Search of ‘the Theology of the Septuagint’: Methodological Aspects,” *State, Religion, and Church in Russia and Abroad* 4 (34) (2016): 7–28 [in Russian].

¹³ Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, ATA, Band XII.3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934); Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah*; M. Seleznev, “The Most Famous Word of the Septuagint,” in *Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology - XIX: Proceedings of the 19th Conference in Memory of Professor Joseph M. Tronsky*. (St. Petersburg: Institute for Linguistic Studies. Russian Academy of Sciences, 2015), 811–823 [In Russian].

¹⁴ If the version of the Hebrew text with which the translator of the Book of Isaiah worked was similar to the Masoretic text, יָקִימוּ in Isa 26:14a could be understood as יָקִימוּ. Ps 88:11 (LXX Ps 87:11) in the Masoretic text reads יָקִימוּ but ancient copyists and translators often confused י and ך because of their graphic similarity (יָקִימוּ/יָקִימוּ); Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd rev. ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001), 244.

¹⁵ Another use of רָפָאִים in the Hebrew Bible is as a pseudo-ethnic term for the legendary ancient inhabitants of Canaan (Gen 14:5; 15:20; Deut 2:11, 20; 3:11, 13; Jos 12:4; 13:12;

- 2) sinners—ἄσεβές ("the ungodly") in Isa 26:19;
- 3) physicians—ἰατροί in the LXX Ps 87:11; Isa 26:14;
- 4) a proper name—Ραφαῖν in Deut 2:11, 20; 3:11; Jos 15:8; Εμεκραφαῖν in Jos 18:16; 2 Sam 23:13;¹⁶
- 5) a qualitative adjective—στερεός ("solid") in Isa 17:5.

Note that in the above list, the LXX translation equivalents of רפאים almost never directly relate to the dead.¹⁷ Moreover, it is difficult to etymologize this word. רפאים may be related either to רפה ("diminish," "weaken") or to רפא ("heal").¹⁸ Indeed, on the one hand, in Isa 14:9-10 the spirits of the dead kings (רפאים) tell the defeated king of Babylon that he has become as weak (חלילי) as they are. On the other hand, in the Ugaritic cult of the dead רפאים correlates with the word "healers," since it meant "the revered dead," for example, ancient kings who, according to some traditions, had a special healing power.¹⁹ Therefore, in this cult the Rephaim were not powerless. This is confirmed by the connection between *rpum* and *ilnym* (*ilm*) in Ugaritic literature.²⁰ Traces of this connection may also be found in the Hebrew Bible, where the spirit of the deceased Samuel is named אלהים (here "strong") (1 Sam 28:13).²¹ Later, the word רפאים ceased to apply only to the privileged dead and began to include all the inhabitants of Sheol.²² Further, by the time the LXX was produced, any explicit connection between רפאים and the underworld, as well as between healers and the spirits of the dead was almost lost. Such a meaning of this word was no longer widespread or maybe even used at all, at least, in the LXX translation of the Psalter and the Book of Isaiah.²³ Therefore, it seems implausible that רפאים is simply

17:15); see Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 227. In this meaning רפאים is often translated as γίγαντες (e.g., Gen 14:9), which in the Hellenistic context may be related to Γίγαντες, an ancient race destroyed by the Olympian gods in Greek mythology (cf. Homer, *Il.* Chapter 20). Cf. also τιτῶνες in 2 Sam 5:18, 22 in the same context.

¹⁶ In LXX Jos 17:15 רפאים is omitted in the translation.

¹⁷ In Prov 2:18 "her paths to the shades (רפאים)" (NRSV) is rendered as "her axles are near Hades (παρὰ τῷ ᾗδῃ) with the earth born (γηγενῶν)." However, even here (see also 9:18) only the context indicates that γηγενές as equivalent of רפאים may relate to the dead.

¹⁸ Rouillard, "Rephaim," 699.

¹⁹ Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 161–196.

²⁰ Rouillard, "Rephaim," 700.

²¹ Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 52.

²² Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 397–398.

²³ In ancient translations of Ps 88:11 and Isa 26:14a from Hebrew, which were produced later than the LXX, רפאים is usually not rendered as "the spirits of the dead"; see, e.g., Aquila (ραφαῖν ["Rephaim"]); Symmachus (θεομάχοι ["those fighting against God"]) in Ps 87:11; γίγαντες ["giants"] in Isa 26:14; Syriac Peshitta (ܩܢܒܐ / *gnbd* ["the mighty ones"]), the Aramaic Targum on Isaiah (גִּבּוֹרֵי הַקּוֹץ; "the mighty ones"), Vulgate (gigantes ["giants"]).

connected with ἰατροί in the context of the ancient Near Eastern cult of the dead, into which a belief in the ability of the spirits of the dead to heal was incorporated. Moreover, the translators of the LXX could have an access to this ancient mythology only through a Greek “window.”²⁴

Meanwhile, another vocalization of רפאים gives רפאים (“healers,” “physicians”; qal participle masculine plural from the verb רפא [“heal”]) instead of רפאים. The word רפאים was undoubtedly known to the LXX translators: it is translated as ἰατροί in 2 Chr 16:12 and ἰαταί (“healers” in Job 13:4)²⁵. If such an explanation is correct, it is much easier to explain another vocalization of the verb קום: it was understood causally (“raise” instead of “rise”). It seems that this was the formal reason for the corresponding translation in Ps 87:11 and Isa 26:14a. Would it mean then that the translators of Psalms and Isaiah chose such a rendering because they simply believed it would fit better in the given context? For instance, they would of course realize that physicians simply do not have the means to bring the dead back to life. They also may have thought (due to their monotheistic tendencies, which are often found in the LXX) that only the Lord can raise the dead. It is also possible that there may have been a certain tradition of vocalizing רפאים in these verses before their translation into Greek. If this is the case, the translators were merely relying on the existing interpretations. Such explanations are not impossible, in principle, but seem to be not exhaustive and would have to face some further objections. First of all, it is not difficult to see that such a translation in both verses violates the parallelism which is so characteristic of biblical poetry. In the first line of Ps 87:11, it is said that only a miracle can animate the dead. Isa 26:14a tells the same: the dead cannot come to life. The second part of the parallelism in Hebrew emphasizes the same idea by means of synonyms.²⁶ However, in the LXX this meaning is lost. Furthermore, the translators were careful enough with rendering רפאים and did not automatically translate it as ἰατροί everywhere. For instance, in Gen 50:2 it is deliberately rendered as ἐνταφιασταί (“embalmers”). Thus, we must still ask whether this translation decision had only a linguistic basis or was also connected with some

However, the Targum on Psalms renders it as גושימיא דאתמסיא בעפרא (“the bodies that are dissolved in the dust”), which refers to the idea of resurrection, and may have been influenced by Isa 26:19.

²⁴ Pearson, “Resurrection and the Judgment,” 49.

²⁵ Cf. the use of רפא as ἰασις (“healing”) in Jer 8:22. Translators of the Psalter and Isaiah often translated the forms of רפא as ἰάομαι (“heal”; e.g., in LXX Ps 6:3; 29:3; 40:5; Isa 6:10; 19:22; 30:26); see Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” 267–268.

²⁶ Rouillard, “Rephaim,” 696.

theological and polemical reasons. To investigate the latter possibility, we need to briefly examine some Greco-Roman ideas about resurrection, restoration of life, and healing.

2. GRECO-ROMAN VIEWS ON RESURRECTION, RESTORATION OF LIFE, AND HEALING

In general, the concept of resurrection in Greco-Roman culture had a negative connotation and was conceived of as something impossible (cf. Homer, *Il.* 24.550; Aeschylus, *Eum.* 648), because a union of body and soul in the afterlife was believed to be inaccessible for most people (Homer, *Il.* 24.550; Aeschylus, *Eum.* 648). Nevertheless, the forms of the verb ἀνίστημι and the noun ἀνάστασις (“resurrection”) often appear in the context of a return to physical life.

The possibility of resuscitation is found in the myth about Asclepius, the most revered Greco-Roman god of medicine.²⁷ According to legend, his father was Apollo, while his mother was Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas (Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.26.3.1–2.26.7.13). Many Greek authors describe multiple miraculous healings which Asclepius performed (e.g., Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.10.3; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.71.1). The rumor spread that he even “raises the dead” (ἀνίστησι τεθνεῶτας; Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.26.6.1). It was believed that for this he was punished by Zeus as one who breaks the limits of death established for mortals. Asclepius was killed by lightning. However, later Zeus brought him out of Hades and made him a god (*Pyth.* 3.47–62; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* 4.71.2–3; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.10.3–4; Virgil, *Aen.* 7.770–774).

Many people believed that after his punishment by Zeus, Asclepius continued to heal and even to restore life.²⁸ This gave grounds for his veneration as a god-healer. Many sanctuaries (Asclepieion) were dedicated to this divine doctor throughout the Greco-Roman world²⁹ and the sick were brought there to be laid down in a place that was appointed for those who were seeking healing.

In addition to Asclepius, other deities were also regarded as healers. For instance, the goddess Isis was venerated for her healing power, which gives immortality. It was believed that she raised her son Horus from the dead

²⁷ Walter Addison Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (New York: University Books, 1962), 236, 240.

²⁸ See, e.g., a fantastic story how Asclepius resuscitated (ἀνέστησε) a woman in the Asclepieion in Claudius Aelianus’ *De Natura Animalium* 9.33.

²⁹ Olympia Panagiotidou, “Asclepius: A Divine Doctor, A Popular Healer,” in *Popular Medicine in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Explorations*, ed. W.V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 86–92.

(ἀναστῆσαι) and made him immortal with the help of a special drug (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, 1.25.2.5-1.25.7.1).³⁰ Apollo was also credited with the power of healing³¹ and his cult was often connected with Asclepius.³² However, it was Asclepius who was regarded as the main and best known god-healer.³³ Moreover, it was he who was often called Ἱατρός (“Physician”).³⁴ His cult was closely linked with healing and with revival of the dead, while the miraculous resuscitations he performed were described with the verb ἀνίστημι.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Alexandria, which was regarded as a center of science and medicine, religious cults associated with healing and all sorts of religious and medical practices were very widespread.³⁵ The origins of such medicine can be found in pagan religious practices in the temples dedicated to Asclepius and other gods,³⁶ since this god-patron of physicians was seen as the real originator of their healing acts. For instance, archeologists have found several ancient images which depict the patient receiving the treatment through a doctor, but with Asclepius standing behind him as the real source of healing.³⁷ Next, we turn to the question of whether these practices may have been reflected in the LXX.

3. ἹΑΤΡΟΣ AND ΑΝΙΣΤΗΜΙ IN THE CONTEXT OF ISA 26 AND LXX Ps 87

The LXX translators sometimes contextualized their translation and even inserted the names of Hellenistic gods, including those which were venerated in Alexandria.³⁸ Thus, in Isa 14:12 one can find ὁ ἑωσφόρος (“the Morning

³⁰ Van der Meer (“Question of the Literary Dependence,” 168) also mentions this important passage in his argument.

³¹ Jayne, *The Healing Gods*, 224–225, 252–253. In the Hippocratic Oath, Apollo, the father of Asclepius, is named ἱητρός (“physician”).

³² *Ibid.*, 242–244; 306–310.

³³ *Ibid.*, 240.

³⁴ “Further, at Balagrae of the Cyreneans there is an Asclepius called Healer (Ἱατρός), who like the others came from Epidaurus” (Pausanias, *Descr.* 2. 26.9.4; quoted from Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. W.H.S. Jones, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library [London: William Heinemann, 1918], 389; see also Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 26.7; 30.1-2). Cf. also ἱατῆρ in the Homeric hymns (16.1).

³⁵ Catherine Hezser, “Representations of the Physician in Jewish Literature from Hellenistic and Roman Times,” in *Popular Medicine in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Explorations*, ed. W.V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 178. Herophilus and Erasistratus (3rd century B.C.E.) should be mentioned as virtually the founders of a medical school in Alexandria.

³⁶ Jayne, *The Healing Gods*, 236–237.

³⁷ Eugen Holländer, *Plastik und Medizin* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1912), 122–123. For instance, it was believed that Asclepius gave his disciples the secrets of dietetics (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyph.* 208).

³⁸ For such contextualization in the Book of Isaiah in the LXX, see, e.g., Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 95–121; Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and*

Star”), the deity that was revered as the patron of the city Alexandria.³⁹ In 65:11 the names of Semitic pagan deities 𐤒𐤕 (“Fortune”)⁴⁰ and 𐤒𐤓 (“Fate”)⁴¹ are changed to δαίμων (“demon”)⁴² and the famous Hellenistic deity τύχη (“Fate”).⁴³ The context of both 14:12 and 65:11 implies a polemic against paganism and a criticism of apostasy from the Lord.⁴⁴ It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the translator could also bring to the text traces of a polemic against such a widespread cult as that of Asclepius and medicine practices associated with him.

In Isa 26:14a the terms ἰατρός and ἀνίστημι appear, which, as has been demonstrated above, in the Greco-Roman world were associated with Asclepius as the ideal physician. In its immediate context Isaiah 26 is a part of the prophecy about the coming of the day of the Lord and God’s victory over the enemies of Judah (Isa 24–27). Isa 26:14 indicates that those pagan kings who tried to establish their dominion over Judah and vainly ascribed to themselves the glory of which only the Lord is worthy will perish (cf. 26:11). They are mortal like other people; there will not even be any memory of them left. In such a context the reference to the futility of efforts to raise these rulers with the help of pagan gods and physicians seems quite appropriate. The Hebrew text of Isa 26:19, which speaks about the resurrection of 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓 (“your dead”), does not contradict this idea, because it can relate to the people of Israel. The risen ones are those who trust in the Lord as their everlasting rock (26:3-4).⁴⁵

Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 133–172; J. Schaper, “God and the Gods: Pagan Deities and Religious Concepts in the Greek Isaiah,” in *Genesis, Isaiah and Psalms. Festschrift J. Emerton*, ed. K.J. Dell, G.I. Davies, and Y.V. Koh, VTSup 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–152.

³⁹ In LXX Isa 14:12: “how is fallen from heaven, the Morning Star (ἑωσφόρος).” The Hebrew text of this verse reads 𐤒𐤕𐤕 (“the morning star” or “the crescent moon”). According to W.G.E. Watson (“Helel,” in *DDD*, ed. Karel van der Toom, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, 2nd rev. ed. [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 392), this word may refer to Venus. See also Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 100; Schaper, “God and the Gods,” 138.

⁴⁰ S. Ribichini, “Gad,” in *DDD*, ed. Karel van der Toom, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 339.

⁴¹ S.D. Sperling, “Meni,” in *DDD*, ed. Karel van der Toom, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 566–567.

⁴² Seeligmann thought that in this context this word refers to Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων—the deity that was revered in Alexandria; Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 99. It had been venerated since the 4th century B.C.E.; Schaper, “God and the Gods,” 140–145.

⁴³ LXX Isa 65:11 reads “fill a mixture for Fortune (τῇ τύχῃ)”; Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 99; Schaper, “God and the Gods,” 135–152.

⁴⁴ See also the mythical σειρήνες (“sirens”) and δαίμονια (“pagan demons”) in Isa 13:21.

⁴⁵ Indeed, according to 25:7-9, the Lord’s faithfulness to his promises can save and raise the righteous; see Alexey Somov, *Representations of the Afterlife in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 556 (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017), 108–109.

Moreover, unlike 26:14, רָפְאִים in 26:19 is rendered as ἀσεβές (“the ungodly”) and the meaning of the last part of this verse is different in the LXX: “for the dew, which is from you, is healing to them, but the land of the ungodly will fall.”⁴⁶ Therefore, in contrast to the Hebrew text of 26:19, where the רָפְאִים will be raised, in the LXX this part of the verse is negative: the ungodly will not rise. While W.R. Pearson identifies these ungodly ones with the Titans from Greek mythology,⁴⁷ it is possible in light of my above proposal about “physicians” in Isa 26:14 to suggest that ἀσεβές and ἰατροί refer to the same: pagan gods and their ungodly followers cannot raise the dead and will themselves perish.⁴⁸

These suggestions are also not against the context of LXX Ps 87. This psalm is a prayer for the Lord’s help in a situation of great need, which is compared with death. Here, the very idea of resurrection appears as rather incredible. This is intended to strengthen the expressiveness of the psalmist’s severe sorrows and to justify a petition for salvation. In addition to the impossibility of resurrection, many other images associated with death and the underworld (“Pit,” “grave,” “depths,” “dark and deep regions”), which was perceived as a deficient and shadowy existence, are used (87:4-7). There is no return from Sheol; the souls of the deceased are completely separated from both the Lord and the world of the living.⁴⁹ For the Greek translator of Psalms, the idea that God does not bring the souls of the dead out from Sheol means that this is all the more beyond the power of pagan gods or physicians.

Moreover, since the polemic against Hellenistic gods is especially important for the LXX translation of the Book of Isaiah, one can assume the dependence of the translation of Ps 87:11 on Isa 26:14, which in this case may have been a source for the translator of this psalm. If these suggestions are correct, they can serve as an argument that the Book of Isaiah was translated earlier than the Book of Psalms.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cf. “For your dew is a radiant dew, and the earth will give birth to those long dead (רָפְאִים)” (Isa 26:19 NRSV).

⁴⁷ Pearson, “Resurrection and the Judgment,” 33–51. Pearson’s proposal would work better if Isa 26:14 read γίγαντες (cf. 14:9) as referring to the savage race from Greek mythology destroyed by the gods, instead of ἰατροί.

⁴⁸ In the context of my argument it is worth noting the appearance of “healing” (ἴαμα) in 26:19. In addition, cf. ἀσεβές with θεομάχοι in Ps 87:11 in Symmachus. The latter word can relate to γίγαντες in Greek Mythology (H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1968], 790), but in Koine Greek it is also used for humans (Act 5:39; cf. 2 Macc 7:19). Ἀσεβής often occurs as “impious” or “wicked” in the LXX; see Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 96-97.

⁴⁹ Somov, *Representations of the Afterlife*, 77-78.

⁵⁰ In accord with van der Meer, “Question of the Literary Dependence,” 170, 199. Earlier, e.g. F.W. Mozley (*The Psalter of the Church*, 182) and M. Flashar (“Exegetische Studien

It should also be noted that polemics against the cult of Asclepius are found not only in LXX Ps 87 and Isa 26. This pagan god-healer was called not only Ἰατρός but also Σωτήρ ("Savior"; e.g., Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 47.1). It made this cult similar to the reverence for Jesus Christ shown by former Gentiles. In this regard, the controversy with the cult of Asclepius and related medical practices continued in early Christianity until the 6th century C.E. For instance, Clement of Alexandria writes: "they invented certain saviours (σωτήρας), the Twin Brothers, Heracles averter of evils, and Asclepius the doctor (ιατρόν)" (*Protr.* 2.26.7.3-6; cf. 2.30.1-2).⁵¹ In addition, in the Coptic account of the Martyrdom of St. Olympios (fr. 6) the Roman governor demands that this saint acknowledge that the miracles he performed (the healing and resurrection of the dead) belong to Asclepius, not to Christ.⁵² All this can serve as an additional argument in favor of my suggestions above.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has confirmed that the LXX translators intentionally allowed themselves a certain freedom in their translation decisions. This is seen in their use of the cultural-religious realities of the Hellenistic world in the context of which the Jewish community in Alexandria lived.⁵³ I have argued that the translation of רְפָאִים as ἰατροί and יְקִימוּ as ἀναστήσουσιν/ἀναστήσωσιν in Ps 87:11 and Isaiah 26:14a was only partially due to the fact that the meaning of רְפָאִים as "the spirits of the dead" was no longer widespread or in all likelihood lost by the LXX translators of the Psalter and the Book of Isaiah. This is also because the biblical text was interpreted by the translators in the context of their polemic against the Hellenistic cult of Asclepius, who was revered not only in Alexandria, where the LXX was created, but also throughout the Greco-Roman world, and also against those Hellenistic

zum Septuagintapсалter," *ZAW* 32.2-4 [1912]: 181-182) also supported an earlier date for the Book of Isaiah, while Seeligmann (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 71-73), Staffan Olofsson (*God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*, ConBOT 31 [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990], 23), and Tyler F. Williams ("Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," 264-268) hold to an earlier date for Psalms.

⁵¹ Quoted from Clement of Alexandria, *The Exhortation to the Greeks, The Rich Man's Salvation, and the Fragment of an Address Entitled to the Newly Baptized*, trans. G.W. Butterworth, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1960), 55.

⁵² L. Lefort, "Un Martyr Inconnu: S. Olympios," *Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales*. LXIII.1-4 (1950): 21-22.

⁵³ Siegfried Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2015), 3-46.

medical practices that were associated with Asclepius. Since controversy with Hellenistic gods is a feature of LXX Isaiah, all this can also be considered as an additional argument in favor of the view that the Greek translation of the Book of Isaiah may have been produced before the translation of the Psalter as a whole, or at least the part to which Ps 87 belongs.

ALEXEY SOMOV

Translation consultant

Institute for Bible Translation, Russia/CIS;

Research fellow

Department of the Old and New Testament

Stellenbosch University, South Africa

absomov@yandex.ru

Proverbs 11:1b-15 as Transmitted in an Unpublished Christian Palestinian Aramaic Palimpsest from St Catherine's Monastery (Sinai, Greek NF MG 14)

Christa MÜLLER-KESSLER

ABSTRACT

This unique and unpublished palimpsest fragment in Christian Palestinian Aramaic containing Proverbs 11:1b-15 from St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (AD 6th-7th centuries) comes up with some significant verses and text variants, which have not been attested for the LXX, and can be only traced so far in the Greek Byzantine Prophetologion and some variant readings. This fragment of Proverbs surfaced among other Old Testament text witnesses under MS Sinai, Greek NF MG 14 and belongs to the New Finds at St Catherine's Monastery of 1975. The rather small text corpus in Christian Palestinian Aramaic from Late Antique Palestine has been always considered for Bible text criticism and this particular specimen demonstrates again its relevance by its variant readings.

St Catherine's Monastery has yielded with the New Finds of 1975 plenty of ancient text material in many languages and texts genres, which have not been attested elsewhere. Especially very rare texts have been transmitted in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) as one of the languages in use in Late Antiquity Palestine. Although being a rather small Aramaic dialect among the other languages such as Arabic, Georgian, Greek, Latin and Syriac, CPA stands out there among the noteworthy discoveries of new text sources. Since the text of the Old Testament has not been completely preserved for this dialect, any new text witness is a welcome addition for any questions of Bible text criticism¹ and for linguistic novelties. Thus the CPA bifolio Greek NF MG 14, fol. 17/20² in the form of a double palimpsest is here a novelty.

¹ See the overview on the CPA transmission in C. Müller-Kessler, "1.4.9 Christian Palestinian Aramaic Translation", in A. Lange, E. Tov (eds.), *Textual History of the Hebrew Bible* (Brill: Leiden, 2016), 447-456.

² Published with the kind permission of St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt. The reading of the folio was made possible through the Sinai Palimpsests Project Digital Release and the Early Manuscript Electronic Library (EMEL).

Also the fact that one has three script layers on this parchment went unnoticed in the entry of the Greek catalogue.³ The lowest is a Greek majuscule erased and then overwritten by an early large CPA hand with Proverbs 11:1b-15⁴ for the content. Both have been overwritten again by a Greek majuscule with the Lives of Saint, *Encomium on the Theotokos*.

In the Septuagint edition by A. Rahlfs one looks in vain under Proverbs 11:1-15 for certain verses, and as long as the critical edition within the Göttinger Septuagint project is not published, there remains a gap for various transmissions of the Old Testament into Greek.⁵ Only Field's *Origenis Hexapla* and the collation of the manuscripts by Holmes later continued by Parsons for the LXX can fill to a certain extent this lacuna.⁶ Dependent translations into Syriac and CPA can often be a helping tool to clarify unresolved transmission and translation questions. Therefore the remaining text of the Syrohexapla has always drawn much attention on this matter. The CPA translation on bifolio Greek NF MG 14, fol. 17/20 is strictly dependent on an early Greek *Vorlage* and in some parts overlapping with the Syrohexapla. This exceptional text witness shows a Septuagint text revised by Origen including variant readings by Theodotion as found in the Syrohexapla witness in MS Milan, Ambrosiana, MS C 313 Inf.⁷, and agrees with a lection of the Greek Byzantine Prophetologion. The CPA version must have been translated as early as 6th or 7th century AD and the folio obviously stems from a complete CPA Bible manuscript, of which only one folio survived. It was written in an early CPA script type⁸ and carries two scribal errors, which were

³ See the catalogue of the Greek MSS for more details by P. G. Nicolopoulos, *The New Finds of Sinai, Holy Monastery and Archdiocese of Sinai* (Ministry of Culture-Mount Sinai Foundation: Athens, 1999), p. 114, pl. 54. According to the catalogue entry the upper Greek text has the Lives of Saints, St Mary of Egypt, Pachomios on Theodore, Xenophon, Praise to the Virgin Mary. The lower text was classified with a Greek majuscule 6th century without indication of contents as for the Syriac (!).

⁴ Despite the multispectral technology, the lowest Greek text stays illegible with the exception of the reading of a few isolated letters that defy identification.

⁵ A. Rahlfs, R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX Interpretes*, I-II (Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit; Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: Stuttgart, 2006).

⁶ F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, Vol. 2 (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1875). R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus*, Vol. III (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1823).

⁷ The Syriac (Syr) manuscript has been published in a photolithographic edition by A. M. Ceriani, *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae) (Bibliothecae Ambrosianae: Florence, 1874).

⁸ See for the digital photographs and the catalogue entries of the manuscript <https://sinai.library.ucla.edu>.

corrected by the scribe himself. The bold type of script is not comparable to any other type of manuscript hand in CPA. A lectionary text can be definitely ruled out, since these verses neither feature in the Armenian Jerusalem Lectionary⁹ nor in the late 10th century Lewis lectionary¹⁰ in CPA nor does it show any indication in the margins.

In the first verses of chapter 11 the CPA translation is to a certain degree comparable to the Syrohexapla text Milan, Ambrosiana, MS C 313 Inf, integrating verse 4 and an additional verse after 4, +3. In the second part, the CPA witness deviates from the Syrohexapla. Verses 10-11 in the LXX are not completely extant. It remains to be asked when this extra verse +3 was added. This CPA version can be only a translation of a certain early Greek *Vorlage* independent of the Syrohexapla, which was only translated between 615-617 into Syriac from the Greek by Paul of Tella.¹¹ The CPA translation clearly predates the latter, as it can be already assigned to the 6th–7th centuries on the basis of the script type. Interestingly, the text is nearly identical with the extra verse +3 and a transposition in verse 10 and 11 to lection 19c as found in the Byzantine Prophetologion.

This single folio of Proverbs demonstrates that CPA has an important standing within the LXX text transmission for its text critical value, although only few Bible fragments have survived in this Western Aramaic dialect. For that reason they should be considered as such in the critical apparatus as it was the practice in the time of J. F. Stenning¹², A. S. Lewis, E. Nestle¹³, and H. Duensing¹⁴,

⁹ Cf. A. Roux, *Le Codex arménien Jérusalem 121*. II. Édition comparé du texte et de deux autres manuscrits (Patrologia Orientalis 36.2, 168; Brepols: Turnhout, 1971).

¹⁰ Published in A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary Containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles with critical notes by E. Nestle* (Studia Sinaitica 6; C. J. Clay & Sons: London, 1897). In Sinai, Greek NF MG 32 lections of a CPA lectionary from an early text witness (6th-7th cent. AD) survived.

¹¹ My sincere thanks go to Sebastian P. Brock, who generously contributed to manifold questions of comparison to the LXX transmission, especially drawing my attention to the Ambrosiana Hexapla variants and the Byzantine edition of the Proph(etologion) by C. Høeg and G. Zuntz, *Prophetologium*, Vol. 3 (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, vol. 1 (Einar Munksgaards Forlag: Haunia, 1952, pp. 233-234). This new Old Testament material has been a challenging task for both of us the minute the readings could be extracted from the palimpsests and the text was identified.

¹² G. H. Gwilliam, F. C. Burkitt, and J. F. Stenning, *Biblical and Patristic Relics of the Palestinian Syriac Literature from MSS in the Bodleian Library and in the Library of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series I.9; Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1896), pp. 33-34, 40-41.

¹³ E. Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: Stuttgart, 1901).

¹⁴ H. Duensing, *Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Texte und Fragmente* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1906).

and for the unfinished Cambridge Septuagint edition by A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, H. St. J. Thackeray.¹⁵

The verses of chapter 11 of Proverbs come up with several new lexical items and show unattested grammatical forms for CPA: *ytblb:lw'n* 'imperfect third person plural masculine *itpalpal* of \sqrt{bll} 'they are confused, muddled' 11:6; *glgy:hwn* < \sqrt{glg} 'their boasting' 11:7; *my:lktwn* < *mylkt* + suffix third plural masculine 'their councils' 11:13; *[m]t'dr* 'participle singular feminine *itpeel* or *itpaal* of \sqrt{dr} 2 'to hoe, to dig up' 11:10¹⁶; *r:ybn* < \sqrt{rb} abstract noun plural feminine treated as singular¹⁷ 'guarantee' 11:13; *pkwrwn nomen agentis* with a pronominal suffix of the third person plural masculine of \sqrt{pkr} 'their destroyer' 11:3; *'štdkt*. perfect third singular feminine of $\sqrt{šdk}$ *itpaal* 'to be calmed' 11:10; *šy:p'y*, *šy:pyy* 'passive participle plural masculine of $\sqrt{šwp}$ 'smooth ones' 11:3, 11.¹⁸

Noteworthy is the omission of *he* in the pronominal plural masculine suffix *-hwn* in *mdbrrwn* 'their leaders' 11:14, *my:lktwn* 'their councils' 11:13, and *pkwrwn* 'their destroyer' 11:3, which tends to be rather rare in the early manuscripts.¹⁹ Line filling double spellings of *yod*²⁰ occurs in *š:yyn* 'oppressors' 11:3; *šy:pyy* 'smooth ones' 11:11.

¹⁵ A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1906-1940).

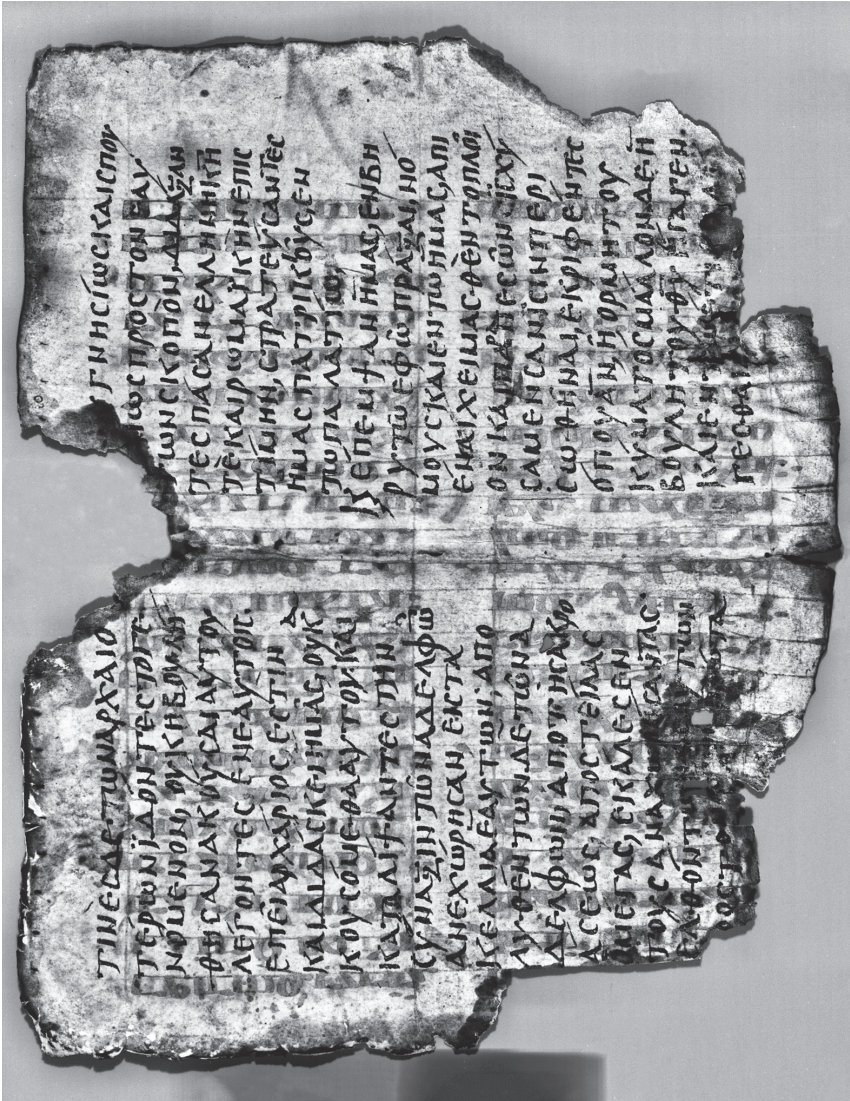
¹⁶ The verbal root *'dr* 2 in the meaning 'to hoe, dig up' is loaned from Hebrew into Aramaic and seems to be only employed in Western Aramaic, see e.g. G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1938), p. 307a under 1 עדר; also M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar Ilan University Press: Ramat-Gan, 2002), p. 397a. The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon is treating the attestations of *'dr* 2 in the Palestinian Jewish Aramaic dialects as Hebraisms or corruptions. The CPA reading and obvious meaning supports a definite Hebrew loan.

¹⁷ See C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen. Teil 1* (Olms: Hildesheim, 1991), p. 112 (4.2.2.2.7).

¹⁸ The dictionary by Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 234; Peeters: Leuven, 2014) is not considered here, since it was withdrawn from the sale by the publisher on account of a court settlement concerning the unauthorized print of the special Christian Palestinian Aramaic computer font without the mentioning of one of the font designers.

¹⁹ See Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, p. 45.

²⁰ This practice to fill a lacuna is only attested in a few CPA manuscripts. Such orthographic oddities cannot be taken as spelling mistakes but as good practice in the writing of manuscripts to avoid the *horror vacui*. This scribal convention has to be distinguished from the double spelling for the differentiation between consonant and vowel, see Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, p. 29.



(Sinai, Greek NFMG 14, fol. 17r/20v; © Monastery of St Catherine)

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Greek NF MG 14, fol. 17v/20r —Proverbs 11:1b–8a

1. [... <i>mr</i>]' ²¹ :	[... Lor]d,	<i>hw</i> ' . <i>'bdnhwn</i>	be the destruction
[<i>m</i>]' <i>tlq</i> ' <i>dy</i>	but the balanced	<i>dr</i> :šy'y'+ :. ²¹	of the wicked.
'š'wy' <i>mqbl</i>	[w]eight is acceptable.	⁵ <i>šdqh dpn</i> ' .	⁵ The righteousness
<i>lh</i> :. ² <i>lhn d'll</i>	to him. ² Where	<i>mwm</i> ' <i>mšw</i> ' .	of the blameless ²²
5. 'q'll' <i>tm.n</i>	insolence enters, there	'wr: <i>hth</i> :	levels his ways,
'wp <i>zhlw</i> ' :	is also contempt.	<i>rwš</i> ' ²³ <i>dy</i>	but the wickedness falls
<i>pmhwn</i> ²³	The mouth	<i>npl</i> 'l <i>tlwm</i> :y' :.	upon oppression. ²⁴
<i>dmky</i> :ky' ²⁵	of the humble	⁶ <i>šdqhwn</i>	⁶ The righteousness
<i>mtyp</i> <i>hkm</i> ' ²⁶ :.	is taught wisdom. ²⁷	<i>dgb</i> :y' <i>šw</i> :y'	of worthy men
10. ³ <i>šwlmwthwn</i>	³ The perfection ²⁸	<i>prq</i> <i>lwn</i> :	delivers them,
<i>dšyp</i> :y'	of the smooth ones	'br:y' ²⁹ <i>nymws</i> ' ³⁰	but the transgressors
<i>mdbr</i> ' <i>lwn</i> :.	guides them,	<i>dy</i> <i>brwš</i> ' <i>h</i> w'[n]	will be muddled ³¹
<i>pkwrwn</i> ^(sic) ³² <i>dy</i>	but the destroyer ³³	<i>ytlb</i> :lw'n' [:.]	by their wickedness.
<i>d</i> 'š:yyn ^(sic) <i>ybwz</i>	of the oppressors will	⁷ <i>kd</i> <i>g</i> 'z <i>gbr</i> ' ³¹	⁷ When the righteous

²¹ This is here an additional verse corresponding to LXX verse 3. An addition is also found also in the Syrohexapla *kd myt zdyq' šbq twt' why dyl' dyn hw' wmhdyn' 'bdnhwn dr:šy'*^{21*}, but it is missing in M.

²² LXX ἀλώμους, but Proph and many minuscules and other witnesses (Holmes and Parson, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*); αλωμου = CPA. The spelling with *nun* proves again that this variant of *pš*'. *mwm* is correct, too.

²³ CPA omits δέ.

²⁴ CPA has ἀδικία, but Proph has ανομος.

²⁵ LXX ταπεινών = CPA; Proph σοφών.

²⁶ + Proph and many other witnesses, see Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum* for the textual basis of Theodotion see P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverben* (Brockhaus: Leipzig, 1863), p. 36 n. 1, τελειοτης ευθεων οδηγησει αυτους, και υποσκελισμος αθεουντων προνομευσει αυτους. ουκ ωφελησει υπαρχοντα εν ημερα θυμου, και. δικαιοσυνη [Proph > δε] απο ρυεται εκ θανατου. = CPA shows, transmitting a fuller hexaplaric version than attested in the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus in Rahlfs' LXX.

²⁷ Ο στόμα δὲ μελετᾷ σοφίαν; θ' καὶ μετὰ ἐπιεικῶν σοφία; Syrohexapla *pwm' dyn dmky:k' mtgh' hkm'* with marginal annotation by θ' w'm *mky:k' . hkm'* *mrmywt drgl'* 'yk hy d'nš *mtkl' wrm' drgl'* l'hrn' *wšd' lh*.

²⁸ The scribe started to write *wšw*, but then overwrote it with *šw*.

²⁹ The scribe queued in a *yud* before the *nun*.

³⁰ Syrohexapla + *byd l' mšbt*'; in the margin *brwš*'³⁰. LXX ἀπωλεία αὐτῶν, but Proph ασεβεια εαυτων = CPA.

³¹ Syrohexapla *mttsydynd*; Syr *ntthdwn* 'will be grasped'.

³² Scribal correction with a straight and erect *pe* written over a *beth*. Syrohexapla: *mrmywt drgl'* 'tripping up'.

³³ The CPA understanding diverges here from the Greek and Syriac, since the verbal root *pkr* can either mean 'to bind' or 'to destroy', but never 'to stumble'.

15. *ythwn*³⁴ ∴ ⁴ *l'* despoil them. *šdyq' sbr'h'* man³⁵ passes away,
mh:nyn qn:ynyn ⁴ Possessions *l' 'bd :* his hope does not
do not benefit perish,
bywm' on the day *glgy:hwn dy* but the boasting³⁶
d'h'mt' : wšdq' of wrath; and the *dr:šy'y' yb:wdown ∴* of the wicked will
perish.
p'r'q mn mwt' ∴ righteousness delivers ⁸ *šdyq' mtntr* ⁸ The righteous is
from death.³⁷ protected
20. ⁺³ [*š*]'*d'yq' kd m't* ⁺³ The [*ri*]ghteous³⁸, *mn ph' : ršy'* from the trap, but
[*š*]'*b'q thw ∴* when dead, [*le*]aves *dy mtmsr* the wicked is
regret; handed over
[..*d' dy wbhđw*]³⁹ but ... and with joy *hwlpy ∴* instead of him.

Greek NF MG 14, fol. 17r/20v—Proverbs 11:9-15

1. ⁹ *bpmhwn d'br:y* ⁹ In the mouth of *'m'[.....]* i[s ...],
*nymws*⁴⁰ the transgressors *gbr' dy* but the clever
mšd' lbn:' is a snare for the *pqyh' bšdyk[w]* man acts
mdynt' citizens, *mtdb'r'[:.]* quietly.
5. *'rgšwthwn* but the perception ¹³ *gbr:y' dtr:y[n]* ¹³ The double-
dy dšdyq:y' of the righteous is *lyšn:wy : b[gw]* tongued men in
'šwyw d'wrh ∴ levelling of a way. *my:lktwn*^(sic) their councils
¹⁰ *b'tbthwn* ¹⁰ By the good deeds *b'st' [...]* with advice, but [...]
dšdyq:y' of the righteous *dy dmhymn* who is trustworthy
10. *'štdkt.* the town *brwłh 'r:ybn* in his mind, he
mdynt' : was calm⁴¹, *hw tnr*⁴² ∴ hides the guarantee.
bpmhwn dy but by the mouth ¹⁴ *hlyn dlyt* ¹⁴ These who do not
[*dr:*]*šy'y' hy* of the [w]icked⁴³ *lhwn mđbrnwn*^(sic) have their leader

³⁴ Corresponds to θ' after 11:2 τελειότης εὐθέων ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑποσκελισμὸς ἀθετούντων προνομεύσει αὐτούς.

³⁵ CPA follows here LXX δικαίου, but M is corrupted as it has here רשע אדם.

³⁶ Syr *sbrhwn* 'their hope'; M לִחְלוֹת 'hope', but Syrohexapla *šwbhr* 'pride'.

³⁷ Only M 4 = θ' οὐκ ὠφελήσει ὑπάρχοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θυμοῦ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ῥύσεται ἀπὸ θανάτου; and in the Syrohexapla *l' mwtryn mrh: tyn t' bywm' dħmt' wdzyqwt' tps' mn mwt'* 'the wealth does not profit on the day of wrath and the righteousness will deliver from death'.

³⁸ Also the Syrohexapla adds this verse after verse 4; see n. 21.

³⁹ In the space before *dy* can be only two or at least three letters missing. A conceivable addition could be *hyd*, of which part of the *dalet* is visible corresponding to Proph προχειρος.

⁴⁰ LXX ἀσεβῶν; Proph and a few other witnesses (Holmes and Parsons) παρανομον = CPA.

⁴¹ κατορθόω 'to set straight, to erect' is represented in the CPA version by *šdk* 'to be quiet',

⁴² Proph πραγμα.

⁴³ The CPA translator renders intentionally ἀσεβής in turns by the Aramaic synonyms *ršy'* 'wicked', a Hebrew loanword or '*br nymws* 'transgressor'.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | [m]r' dr ^{44, 45} ∴ | it [wa]s dug up. ⁴⁶ | np:lyn hykm' | fall like |
| 15. | [¹¹ +b]brkthwn | [¹¹ +With] the blessing | dtr:py' ∴ | leaves, |
| | dšy:pyy ^(sic) | of the smooth ones ⁴⁷ | mħynwt' dy | but the salvation |
| | 'trwmmt. | the town was | hwy' swgy | is (with) much of |
| | | exalted ⁴⁸ , | | |
| | mdynt'+ ⁴⁹ : pmhwn | but the mouth ^(sic) | dmylkwn ∴ | advice. |
| | dy r:šy'y' | of the wicked | ¹⁵ byš' 'bd byš':n | ¹⁵ The evil one |
| | | | | produces evilness, |
| 20. | mthpk ∴ | was reverted. ⁵⁰ | kd yqbr | when it is buried |
| | ¹² mmyq bb:n'. | ¹² Who mocks | lšdyq' ∴ sn['] | for the righteous. For |
| | mdynth hdn | citizens this one | hw gr qt[.] | he hate[s] ... ⁵¹ |

NOTES

- v. 3 šyp:y' or also spelled šyp:yy' in verse 11 can only be taken as a passive participle plural masculine of √šwp 'to be smooth', but the root is rarely attested in the Western Aramaic dialects, only in Hebrew 'geglättet, glatt' loaned into Western Aramaic as 'abgenützt'.⁵² A similar root as in Syriac špy corresponding to the meaning of ευθεων would have been feasible, but is not used here, since it would have to be spelt šp:y' 'smooth ones'. The CPA translation does not follow the Syrohexapla tr:yš' 'upright ones', here and in verse 11 as well as the Proph ευθεων; משרים.
- v. 6 The CPA version uses here a different verb ytblb: lw'n' meaning 'to confuse, muddle' from the reduplicated root blbl. LXX ἀλίσκονται and Syrohexapla mttšydyn understands it as 'to be caught'. α' θ' σ' have και εν ασεβεία αὐτοῦ πεσεῖται ὁ ἀσεβής.

⁴⁴ Although the scribe wrote a clear *beth*, he put a dot on the *beth* to emend it to a *resh*.

⁴⁵ Several text variants have κατασκαφησεται (Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum*); omitted in O; Syrohexapla wb'bdn' dršy:' rwz' 'and with the destruction of the evil ones is exultation'.

⁴⁶ LXX = CPA = 'Εν ἀγαθοῖς δικαίων κατώρθωσε πόλις, ζόμασι δὲ ἀσεβῶν κατεσκάφη (Holmes and Parsons) + Proph and as variant + και εν απωλεια ασεβων αγαλλιαμα εν ευλογια ευθεων υψωθησεται (Holmes and Parsons).

⁴⁷ Syrohexapla dtry:š' 'of the upright ones'.

⁴⁸ Omitted in O; θ', Proph and variants in Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum* εν ευλογίᾳ εὐθέων ὑψωθήσεται πόλις; a doublet produced by the partial insertion of the hexaplaric addition bbwrkt' dtry:š' trmrm mdynt' 'with the blessing of the upright ones the city will be exalted'.

⁴⁹ + CPA = εν ευλογια 'ευθεων' υψωθησεται πολις end of verse 10 in Proph. CPA 10a und 11a agrees with θ' εν αγαθοις δικαιων κατωρθωση [schr κατωρχησατο] πολις, και εν απωλεια αζεβων αγαλλιαμα. εν ευλογια ευθεων υψωθησεται πολις, see de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Syrohexapla bpwmy:hwn dyn rš:y' 'mt'qr' 'but with the mouth of the wicked it was uprooted'. This MS reads definitely only pwmhwn ... mthpk, although one would have expected bpwmhwn ... mthpk'.

⁵¹ Syrohexapla sn' dyn ql' dzhyrwt' 'but he hates the voice of caution'.

⁵² Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 422a.

- v. 10 CPA adds *στομασιν pmhwn*, not in *θ'*, but Vaticanus B, Sinaiticus S και εν απωλεια ασεβων αγαλιαμα = Syrohexapla *b'bdn' dr:šy'' rwz'* and M ובאבד רשעים רנה probably because of verse 11.
- v. 15 The reading and meaning at the end of the verse cannot be established. The first letter could be a *gimel*, but it can also be simply a smudge. Another option is to read *hw*.

CHRISTA MÜLLER-KESSLER
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena
Jena, Deutschland
christa.kessler@uni-jena.de

“Their sacrifices with psalms” in the Septuagint of Isaiah 66:20

Mark A. AWABDY

ABSTRACT

This article argues that the Greek translator of Isa 66:20 alters the simile for the Diaspora’s return to Zion by freely translating “their grain offering in a clean vessel” (את־המנחה בכלי טהור) as “their sacrifices with psalms” (τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ ψαλμῶν). This exegetical rendering eliminates a perceived problem with the Hebrew, correlates with Jewish worship in the Second Temple era, and fits well with Isaiah’s anaphoric imagery.

In a climactic bifurcation of the righteous for blessing and the wicked for judgment, Isa 66:20 orates Yhwh’s vision of an ultimate immigration depicted by a simile with four parallel syntagms:

<i>Causative transitive (Hiphil) of the intransitive (Qal) בִּיא</i>	<i>Accusative מנחה</i>	<i>Instrumental כ clause(s)</i>	<i>Adverbial phrase to indicate the destination</i>
They shall bring והביאו	all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to Yhwh, את־כל־אחיכם מכל־הגוים מנחה ליהוה	on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, בסוסים וברכב ובצבים ובפרדים ובכרכרות	to my holy mountain Jerusalem, על הר קדשי ירושלם
says Yhwh, just as אמר יהוה כאשר			
the Israelites bring יביאו בני ישראל	a grain offering את־המנחה	in a clean vessel בכלי טהור	to Yhwh’s house. בית יהוה

The nations will transport the Israelites back to Jerusalem in a manner that resembles (comparative כִּאֲשֶׁר) the Israelites’ own transport of a מנחה offering “to Yhwh’s house in a clean vessel” (בכלי טהור בית יהוה).¹ The precise vision

¹ The implied subject of the 3cp והביאו (“They will bring”) is likely the immediately preceding mp noun, “among the nations” (בגוים, v. 19), which is in synonymous parallelism to

of 66:20–21 is not that nations will stream into Jerusalem to worship Yhwh (as Isa 2:2–4; 56:1–7), but that they will serve as Yhwh’s agents by carrying back, yet without cultically defiling, the Diaspora Jews (v. 20), some of whom Yhwh would appoint to serve in the Second Temple as his priests and Levites (v. 21).²

PERCEIVED PROBLEMS WITH “IN A CLEAN VESSEL” (בכלי טהור)

The simile in v. 20, however, is not entirely clear since the phrase “in a clean vessel” (בכלי טהור) occurs nowhere else in the HB. Vessels were to be pure by implication only: generic vessels could transmit the contagions of unclean animals, skin diseases and bodily discharges, and tabernacle vessels belonged to Yhwh.³ Thankfully, this adverbial, “in a clean vessel,” helps to orient the reader to conceive of the מנחה not as a present (as Isa 39:1) or generic offering (Isa 1:13; 19:21), but as a food or grain offering (prb. 43:23; 57:6) transportable in a container.⁴ This image can be reconciled with the מנחה “grain offering” in P, for although the priest was to offer a memorial portion by hand,⁵ the Israelites would presumably need containers to transport at least the raw flour of the prototypical grain offering (Lev 2:1–3). To be clear, Isa 66:20b (Heb.) does not allude to priests officiating *within* the temple precincts, but to an Israelite custom of bringing grain, inferably from farmsteads, granarys and homes, *to* the temple to be offered to the Lord there.⁶

The reading, בכלי טהור “in a clean vessel” or “in clean vessels” (1QIsa^a MT, prb. 1QIsa^b)⁷ is preserved in early versions,⁸ but the OG of Isa 66:20 diverges in this detail and several others:

“the coastlands” (האיים, 91:66), which may also refer back conceptually to “all nations and tongues” (כל-הגוים והלשונות, v. 18). Less likely is the “survivors” (פליטים, v. 19) whom Yhwh sends to the nations.

² Ulrich F. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form* (HBM 46; trans. M. C. Lind; University of Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press), 499.

³ Exod 27:19; 31:7; 35:22; 38:3, 30; 39:40; Lev 11:32, 33, 34; 13:49, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59; 14:5, 50; 15:12, 22; Num 3:8; 4:9, 12, 14, 15, 26, 32; 18:3; 19:15, 17; 31:20, 50, 51; 35:22.

⁴ “מנחה,” HALOT 2:601; DCH 5:350–53.

⁵ The transitive קָמַץ (only in Lev 2:2; 5:12, 26) means “to take a handful” (HALOT 3:1109; DCH 7:262–63), and קָמַץ (only in Lev 2:2; 5:12; 6:8; Num 5:26) means “handful” (HALOT 3:1109; DCH 7:263).

⁶ Likewise, P presumes non-priestly Israelites would gather, prepare and bring their מנחה from outside of Yhwh’s tent (Lev 2:1–2, 4–8, 11–15).

⁷ 1QIsa^a is clear, while 1QIsa^b contains traces of ink (above והארץ) “compatible with *reš*”: Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, with a contribution by Martin G. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran Cave I, II: The Isaiah Scrolls* (2 vols.; DJD XXXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010), 193, 233 (quote); see also Eugene Ulrich, ed. *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 463, 554–5.

⁸ Targum¹: במן דכי “in a clean vessel”; Vulgate: *in vase mundo* “in a clean vessel”; Peshitta: כְּכֵלִי טָהוֹר “with clean vessels.”

<i>Isa 66:20 (NRSV)</i>	<i>LXX Isa 66:20 (modification of NETS)⁹</i>
They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering [מנחה] to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries [ובצבים ובפרדים ובכרכרות], to my holy mountain [הר קדשי] Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain offering in a clean vessel [את־המנחה בכלי טהור] to the house of the LORD.	They shall bring your kindred from all the nations as a gift [δῶρον] to the Lord, with horses and chariots, in mule-drawn litters with sunshades [ἐν λαμπήναις ἡμιόνων μετὰ σκιαδίων], into the holy city [εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν] Ierousalem, said the Lord, as the sons of Israel would bring to me their sacrifices with psalms [ἐμοὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ ψαλμῶν] into the house of the Lord.

The syntax of the Hebrew simile with a habitual non-perfective “*just as* [כִּאֲשֶׁר] the Israelites *bring* [בְּיָבִיאוּ]”¹⁰ is rendered by ὥς ἂν with the aorist optative, which probably does not indicate a shift to a result clause, “*so that* the sons of Israel may bring” (NETS 875, italics mine). Rather, the Isaiah translator¹¹ elsewhere not only preserves the comparative force of כִּאֲשֶׁר with ὃν τρόπον, but also with the relative adverb ὥς.¹² Moreover, in Classical Greek, starting with Homer, and appearing also in Gen 33:10, ὥς ἂν introduces an optative clause to render “an elaborate simile,”¹³ so that it is most reasonable to read Isa 66:20 as a good representation of the Hebrew: “*as* the sons of Israel *would bring* to me their sacrifices.” Rendering “their grain offering” (הַמִּנְחָה) as “their sacrifices” (τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν)¹⁴—rather than “their gift” (τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν) to preserve the parallelism of δῶρον for מִנְחָה earlier in v. 20—can be seen as stylistic and fits within the lexical stock of

⁹ I modify “so that the sons of Israel may bring to me their sacrifices” (NETS 875) to “as the sons of Israel would bring to me their sacrifices” (argumentation below).

¹⁰ IBHS §31.3e.

¹¹ A single translator for the entire book is argued by Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA 12.3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1934), 31–46, esp. 20–31; but for two translators for different sections of Isaiah, see Johannes Herrmann and Friedrich Baumgärtel, “Die Septuaginta zu Jesaja das Werk zweier Übersetzer,” in *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta* (BWAT 5; Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig: Kohlhammer, 1923), 20–31.

¹² For כִּאֲשֶׁר ὃν τρόπον [γὰρ] in 9:2; 10:10, 11; 14:24; 20:3; 25:11; 31:4; 51:13; 52:14; 65:8; 66:22; but a comparative ὥς in 11:16; 24:2; 29:8; 55:10; and temporal ὅταν in 23:5; but in 26:9, ὥς as exegesis or scribal confusion of ὥς; the precise construction ὥς ἂν occurs in the LXX Isaiah only here (66:20) and in 8:21, where it renders a temporal כִּי (“that when” NETS 831).

¹³ Jan Joosten, “Elaborate Similes – Hebrew and Greek. A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique,” *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 3–14 (7); also T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 325.

¹⁴ The Gk. pronoun renders the Heb. article as possessive.

the Pentateuch^{LXX}.¹⁵ The preposition with the genitive, “*with* [μετὰ] psalms,” is also predictable since the LXX translators often select it to translate כִּי with different forces; here the meaning shifts from an instrumental or spatial force, “*by means of/in* a clean vessel,” to an accompanying force, “*with/accompanied by* psalms.”¹⁶ Also, the plural number of ψαλμῶν “psalms” can render the unpointed כְּלִי as a plural (כְּלִי instead of sg. כְּלִי).

The problem, then, centers on the translator’s selection of the lexeme ψαλμός to render the syntagm כְּלִי טָהוֹר since he could have easily supplied a formal equivalent.¹⁷ In the Greek scriptures, ψαλμός has a semantic range of ‘song of praise’ (i.e., ‘psalm’), ‘song,’ or ‘music made with an instrument,’ but never ‘vessel.’¹⁸ The rendering in 66:20 by NETS, “music,”¹⁹ probably draws an association to the infrequent meaning of כְּלִי as a musical instrument,²⁰ but this is not preferable to the more common meaning, “psalms.”²¹ In continuity with its LXX usage, I could not find any Classical or Koine papyri or inscriptions that employ ψαλμός to refer to an instrument or a vessel, let alone

¹⁵ I.e., in Leu. 2, מִנְחָה is consistently rendered θυσία (2:1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 [and θυσίασμα], 14[2×], 15), but is frequently described as δῶρον (for קָרְבַּן in 2:1[2×], 4, 5, 6, 12, 13[×]); for pluses and minuses in LXX Isaiah derived from the Pentateuch: Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (SCS 61; Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 358–88. A Greek θυσία was an “alimentary communion sacrifice, in which meat for human consumption is slaughtered in a sacrificial setting,” which resembles the “sacrifice of deliverance” (θυσία σωτηρίου) in Leu. 3: Dirk L. Büchner, “The *Thysia Soteriou* of the Septuagint and the Greek Cult: Representation and Accommodation,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (BETL 224; ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 85–100; *ibid.*, “Leuitikon 3.1–17: The Sacrifice of Deliverance,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction* (ed. Dirk Büchner; Atlanta: SBL, 2017), 95–122 (quotation 99).

¹⁶ T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 452 gloss 2.

¹⁷ μετὰ σκευῶν καθαρῶν or μετὰ σκεύους καθαρῶ or σκεύεσιν/σκεύει καθαρῶ.

¹⁸ “music made with an instrument” (Muraoka, *GELS*, 741); “song of praise, psalm” (LEH §9751).

¹⁹ Moisés Silva, “Esaias,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: A New Translation of the Greek into Contemporary English – An Essential Resource for Biblical Studies* (ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 824.

²⁰ “כְּלִי,” *DCH* 4:423, gloss 3, “(musical) instruments”; *HALOT* 2:478–79 gloss 2, with a genitive marking כְּלִי as: “musical instruments” (כְּלִי-נֶבֶל, Ps 71:22; כְּלִי נְבִלִים, 1 Chr 16:5; כְּלִי 2 Chr 5:13; 7:6; 23:13; Amos 6:5); without a genitive: “with mighty instruments/vessels of Yahweh” (בְּכִלְיֵינוּ לַיהוָה, 2 Chr 30:21, cf. 1 Chr 13:8).

²¹ Following: “with psalms” (Ottley, *Isaiah*, 327); “unter Psalmen” (LXX.D); “au son des psaumes” (BdA); “avec des psaumes” (Adrian Schenker, “Dans un vase pur ou avec des psaumes? Une variante textuelle peu étudiée en Isa 66:20,” in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* [VTSup 138; ed. Meer, Michaël van der, Percy van Keulen, Wido van Peursen, and Bas ter Haar Romeny; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010], 407–12).

a clean vessel. Moreover, the problem is not solved by positing another *Vorlage* because the translator of Isa 66:20 exhibits a free *Übersetzungsweise* in the immediate context.²²

Instead, the first clue is ideological. Of the Heb. text, Ulrich Berges persuasively concludes that, “the Diaspora Jews will be comfortably conveyed to Jerusalem, analogous to being carried by the kings of the nations in 49.22–23 and 60.4...The comparison between bringing more Diaspora Jews and an offering (מנחה) in clean vessels is probably to emphasize, in the face of Jerusalem’s pride of place, the absolute cultic capacity of their brothers from the Diaspora.”²³ It is plausible that the Greek translator of Isa 66:20 considered it problematic to compare a pagan transportation of the Israelites with a ritually clean, Israelite transportation of offerings to the Lord.²⁴ The Seleucid defilement of the Second Temple, recently purified by the Maccabees, might have been on the translator’s mind.²⁵ Whatever the particular influences

²² See comparison (above chart) of the divergences of the Greek from the Heb. of Isa 66:20; additionally, in v. 21: “I will also take some of them *for myself* [לִי]” = ἐμοὶ LXX^{ed} > MT (prb. 1QIsa^b based on word spacing). *Contra* Adrian Schenker (“Isa 66:20,” 407–12), who concludes that μετὰ ψαλμῶν reflects a literal rendering of a separate Hebrew source and should be preferred as the peculiar reading, more likely original, because music is not typically connected with sacrifices in the HB, but purity is commonplace. The lack of other witnesses, coupled with the translator’s free *Übersetzungsweise*, militates against taking any of the retroversions as the source, whether בומרות, בשרים, or בתהלות, בנינתם (מזמור ‘psalm’ is always sg. and never takes a proclitic); the conjectural בקול תודה “with voice of praise” (Ottley, *Isaiah*, 388) is improbable. On the importance of appreciating the translator’s *Übersetzungsweise*: Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 84–85.

²³ Berges, *Isaiah*, 499.

²⁴ As Günter Mayer and Michael Tilly argue: “Die im hebräischen Text durch die syntaktisch parallelen Formulierungen bewirkte Kontrastierung der jüdischen ‚reinen Gefäße‘ und der paganen Transportmittel wird aufgrund dieser Umdeutung konsequenterweise ebenfalls aufgehoben, indem der Übersetzer zu μετὰ ψαλμῶν abändert... die griechische Übersetzung von Jes 66,20 die in ihrer Vorlage angelegte integrative Sich auf die Völkerwelt nicht weiterführt”: “Das Heil der Anderen im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum. Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung von Jesaja 66,14b–24,” in *Lebensform und Lebensnorm im Antiken Judentum. Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Religionssoziologie und Theologie in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (DCLS 30; ed. Daniel Schumann; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 275–6.

²⁵ If one posits the consensus date of c. 140 BCE for the Greek translation of Isaiah, the recent memory of the Maccabean revolt and rededication of the temple (164 BCE) could have influenced the translator of Isa 66:20 (for c. 140 date, see Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* [ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann; FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004; repr. from Leiden: Brill, 1948], 222–251; esp. four-fold reference to the ruin of Carthage in LXX Isaiah 23 [καρχηδών ≠ תרשיש “Tarshish”], probably referring to the Battle of Carthage in 146 BCE: Arie van der Kooy, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* [VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 187). As Iodas and his brothers purify the temple (1 Macc 4:36–38; cf. Isa 66:17), “they made new *holy vessels*” (ἐποίησαν σκαύτη ἅγια καινὰ, 4:49 NETS) and offer sacrifices with “songs...gladness...praise...very great gladness...with gladness and joy” (4:53–54, 56,

were, such an unclean transport could explain why the translator omitted the adjective “clean” (טהור),²⁶ yet does not also explain his choice of ψαλμός.

PSALMS IN THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD AND ISAIAH’S RESTORATION IMAGERY

We cannot rule out that the translator stretched the semantic domain of כלי to include ψαλμός ‘psalms’ by an analogy to ‘musical instruments,’ one of the glosses of כלי,²⁷ but why choose this semantic analogy over many others? The simplest explanation is that it had become customary for Jews in the Hellenistic period to sing psalms to the Lord. In 1948, Seeligmann tersely claimed, “For the translator who renders בכלי טהור by μετὰ ψαλμῶν the fame of the Second Temple is an implicate of the renowned Psalms.”²⁸ His claim is highly probable, but it needs to be substantiated and qualified, not least because more recent research has shown that the Isaiah translator’s recourse to actual language from the psalms is disputed.²⁹ If the translator wanted to denote musical instruments, music or songs in general, he could have selected μουσικός (22× in LXX). Instead, ψαλμός—as many cases of ᾠδή (88×) and ὕμνος (33×)—is a referential term: outside of Isa 66:20, 86 of the 91 other occurrences of ψαλμός (sg. and pl.) in the LXX refer to a formal Israelite or Jewish composition of music to or about the Lord.³⁰ In regard to Isa 66:20, the combination of “their sacrifices with psalms” (τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ ψαλμῶν) brings to mind the daily sacrifices coordinated with psalm singing by the professionally trained Levites in the Second Temple.³¹

58–59; cf. μετὰ ψαλμῶν in Isa 66:21). The Jewish conflict with the surrounding nations was ongoing (1 Macc 4:41, 60–61; 5:1ff). Yet, this parallel remains provisional, since 1 Macc. 4 regards offerings in the temple, while Isa 66:20b, offerings brought to the temple; on a similar tentative stance on identifying ‘contemporizing,’ see Anna Angelini, “Ruins, Zion and the Animal Imagery in the Septuagint of Isaiah 34,” *JSCS* 49 (2016): 97–109 (109).

²⁶ Perhaps related to this logic, the translator changes “dromedaries” (כרכרות) to “sun-shades” (σκιαδίον); a synonym of ‘dromedary,’ the ‘camel’ (גמל/κάμηλος), is unclean as food in Lev 11:5.

²⁷ With Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 84; earlier R. R. Ottley posited this association, but admitted “this hardly helps”: *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1904), 388.

²⁸ Seeligmann, *Isaiah*, 267.

²⁹ van der Vorm-Croughs, *Isaiah*, 388–409.

³⁰ In the Psalms (72x); Judith 16:1; Psalms of Solomon (9x); 1–2 Samuel (1 Sam 16:18; 2 Sam 23:1); Amos 5:22–23; Zech 6:14. The other secular or ambiguous meanings of ψαλμός occur in 3 Macc 6:35; Job 21:12; 30:31; Lam 3:14; 5:14.

³¹ Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism* (STDJ 104; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 41.

These Levitical singers, such as the families of Asaph and Korah, were responsible to recite the psalms³² and might have served as the final editors of the Psalter.³³ With this backdrop, "the sons of Israel" would be a metonym for Israel and its cultic representatives. Yet, the custom of Isa 66:20 seems to envision that "the sons of Israel" (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, v. 20), as a hypernym, distinct from its hyponym "priests and Levites" (v. 21), were faithfully bringing their sacrifices with psalms. This picture correlates with the prominence of the psalms among many Jews, not just their cultic leaders, in their permutations of worship to the Lord during the Hellenistic period, as Erhard Gerstenberger rightly concludes, "In short, at this latest stage the Psalter is not exactly a hymnbook of the second temple but more precisely a hymnbook of the many synagogal communities that lived with their hearts turned toward the Holy City but ritually independent of her."³⁴ The LXX Isaiah translator likely thought sacrifices transported to the Lord's central shrine without accompanying psalms was a deficient comparison, even if he was not ready to concede to psalms replacing animal sacrifices, as already envisaged in certain psalms³⁵ and in contemporary texts like *Joseph Apocryphon*, which reveals "a readiness to replace animal sacrifice with sacrifices of thanksgiving long before the temple was destroyed (c. 150 BCE)."³⁶

Finally, while μετὰ ψαλμῶν "with psalms" is unparalleled in the LXX, it fits well with Isaiah's imagery of singing and rejoicing upon Israel's and Yhwh's return to Zion. This should not surprise us given that "anaphoric translation" is a translation technique that permeates LXX Isaiah.³⁷ In this case, three prior passages—Isaiah 52:8–11; 56:1–8; and 60:4–6—imagine joy or joy and singing at the ingathering of the Diaspora to the Jerusalem temple.³⁸

³² Erhard S. Gerstenberger cites 1 Chr 16:7; 2 Chr 7:6; 20:19; and superscriptions to Pss 42–50, 73–85, 87–88: *Psalms: Part I with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (FOTL 14; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans), 28. Priests and Levites had separate temple functions, as the language of Isa 66:21, perpetuated in the LXX, reflects, "I will take for myself some of them as priests and as Levites [ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται]"; see Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part I*, 28.

³³ Mark S. Smith, "The Levitical Compilation of the Psalter," ZAW 103 (1991): 258–63.

³⁴ Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part I*, 28.

³⁵ I.e., in LXX versification: Pss 39:7; 49:9, 14, 23a; 106:22; 115:8; 140:2.

³⁶ Michael D. Matlock, *Discovering the Traditions of Prose Prayers in Early Jewish Literature* (LSTS 81; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 195; instead, LXX Isa 66:20 depicts ongoing altar sacrifice, as, i.e., in Psalms 19:4(20:3); 26:6(27:6); 50:20-21(51:18-19); 53:8.

³⁷ van der Vorm-Croughs, *Isaiah*, 453; similarly Silva, "Esaias," 824.

³⁸ Isa 66:20 (Heb.) relates intertextually to 49:22–23 and 60:40 (Berges, *Isaiah*, 499), which have joyful singing or joy in their preceding contexts (49:13; 60:5, 15). The translator's recourse to the Twelve is unclear (van der Vorm-Croughs, *Isaiah*, 438–40), but was probably aware of texts like Zeph 3:10–17, which imagines the returning Diaspora's presentation of "my offering" (θυσίαις μοι for מנחתִי, v. 10) and emphatic singing for joy (vv. 14–19).

<i>Thematic Elements</i>	<i>52:8–11 (NRSV)</i>	<i>56:1–8 (NRSV)</i>	<i>60:1–18 (NRSV)</i>	<i>66:19–23 (NRSV)</i>
<i>Singing and/or Joy</i>	“together they sing for joy” (v. 8) “Break forth together into singing” (v. 9)	“make them joyful in my house of prayer” (v. 7)	“your heart shall thrill and rejoice” (v. 5) “shall proclaim the praise of the LORD” (v. 6) “I will make you majestic forever, a joy from age to age” (v. 15)	X
<i>Nations present</i>	“before the eyes of all the nations” (v. 10) “all the ends of the earth shall see” (v. 10)	“foreigners joined to the LORD” (v. 3/v. 6a) “my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples” (v. 7)	“Nations shall come to your light” (v. 3) “the wealth of the nations” (v. 5) “Foreigners shall build up your walls” (v. 10)	“to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations” (v. 19)
<i>Immigration of God’s people to Mount Zion</i>	“they see the return of the LORD to Zion” (v. 8) “the Lord has comforted his people, he has redeemed Jerusalem” (v. 9)	“these I will bring to my holy mountain” (v. 7) “the Lord GOD, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered” (v. 8)	“your sons shall come from far away, and your daughters shall be carried on their nurses’ arms” (v. 4)	“They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD” (v. 20)
<i>Offerings/tribute to Yhwh</i>	“purify yourselves, you who carry the vessels of the LORD” (v. 11)	“their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar” (v. 7)	“They shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall proclaim the praise of the LORD” (v. 6) “All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered to you, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister to you; they shall be acceptable on my altar” (v. 7)	“just as the Israelites bring a grain offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites... all flesh shall come to worship before me” (vv. 20–21, see 23)

The simile in 66:20 for the return of God’s people to Zion curiously lacks the conventional singing and/or joy. The free rendering, μετὰ ψαλμῶν, fills this gap. If intentional, this would not be an isolated case but belongs to a broader web of renderings throughout the book that exhibit the Isaiah translator’s own conception of the Zion-Jerusalem restoration.³⁹

CONCLUSION

In the ultimate prophetic oracle of salvation of Isa 66:12–24, the Greek translator, I have argued, transformed the Hebrew simile in v. 20 to compare the foreign transport of the Diaspora Jews to Zion to an Israelite custom of bringing to the Lord “their sacrifices with psalms.” In line with the translator’s free *Übersetzungsweise* in the direct context, his exegetical rendering “with psalms” (μετὰ ψαλμῶν) for “in a clean vessel” (כלי טהור): one, solves the problem of defiling contact with the transporting nations; two, correlates with the burgeoning of psalm performance to the Lord in the Second Temple period; and three, is a suitable extension of the singing and joy that characterizes Isaiah’s imagery of the restoration to Zion. Consequently, the connotation of the simile in 66:20 shifts from the cultic *purity* to the cultic *joy* of the returning Diaspora of God’s people. This does not diminish the rhetorical cogency of the oracle,⁴⁰ for although the Hebrew text of Isa 66:20 advances the recurring pure–impure antithesis (vv. 2–3, 17–18, 23–24), the Greek version extends and culminates the joy–shame antithesis (vv. 5, 9d–14, 20), so that the custom of “sacrifices with psalms” (v. 20) can be read as the Jewish community’s obedience to the preceding, divine command, “Rejoice, O Ierousalem, and celebrate a festival in her, all you who love her; rejoice with joy, all you who mourn over her” (Isa 66:10 NETS).

MARK A. AWABDY

South Asia Institute of Advanced Christian Studies

Bengaluru, India

MarkLes@tapmail.org

³⁹ I.e., A. van der Kooij, “Rejoice, o Thirsty Desert! (Isaiah 35). On Zion in the Septuagint of Isaiah,” in *Enlarge the Site of Your Tent’: The City as Unifying Theme in Isaiah, The Isaiah Workshop – De Jesaja Werkplaats, Oudtestamentische Studiën* (OTS 58; ed. A. van Wieringen and A. van der Woude; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), 11–20; also Angelini, “Isaiah 34,” 97–109.

⁴⁰ van der Kooij (*Oracle of Tyre*, 187) has shown from Isa 23:1–14 that, “the translator was someone who aimed at producing a meaningful text,” and on the rhetorical shape of LXX Isa 1:1–31, see J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (FAT 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

The Mechanics of the Recensional Process: Theodotus's Treatment of First-Found Equivalents in Old Greek Daniel

Daniel OLARIU

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ABSTRACT

One of the ongoing debates within textual studies on the Book of Daniel relates to properly characterizing the relationship between the two Greek versions of this book, i.e. Old Greek (OG-Dan) and Theodotion (Th-Dan). Do these texts stand in a translation-revision relationship or are they better assessed as two independent translations? The standard methodology for assessing the likelihood of a text as a revision comprises two criteria: (1) the confirmation of a common basis shared between the two texts based on significant lexical choices and (2) the attestation of revising tendencies in one of the translations aiming to represent the Semitic source text more faithfully. This paper substantiates the nature of Th-Dan as a recension by discussing the reviser's treatment of first-found equivalents in OG-Dan for certain Semitic words. This feature, which has been overlooked in previous recensional studies, convincingly demonstrates both the reviser's dependence on OG-Dan in selecting his equivalents and his agenda to stereotypically employ them further once they were adopted.

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The recensional studies of the twentieth century have received a significant boost thanks to Barthélemy's groundbreaking analysis of the Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever.¹ His monograph, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, has especially garnered praise for its compelling case for a new thread of textual witnesses, namely, the *kaige* tradition. This name highlights

¹ The scroll was first published by Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du dodécaprophète*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963) and subsequently in the *editio princeps* by Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft and contribution of P. J. Parsons, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll From Naḥal Ḥever* (8HevXIIgr), DJD 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

one of Barthélemy's essential claims that in this textual tradition the Hebrew additive particles **וְ** "also" and **וְגַם** "and also" were frequently translated with the peculiar word equivalent *καίγε*. This unusual rendering epitomizes Barthélemy's theory, serving as the main idiosyncrasy which distinguishes the *kaige* group of texts from the remainder of the books of the Septuagint.² According to Barthélemy, the version of Daniel attributed to Theodotion (Th-Dan) belongs to this tradition, together with the Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets and other translational segments.³

Barthélemy's theory also supports the characterization of the *kaige* group as a revision. Not only that, but, as the name of his monograph implies, the group could be considered the predecessor of Aquila's revision. Expressed differently, it displays intermediary revising techniques that turn the group into a link between Old Greek and the acute literalism of Aquila's revision.⁴

As expected, the newly suggested recensional layer attracted the attention of scholars who quickly began testing different aspects of Barthélemy's theory within their studies. Among the first major studies which further advanced the research on *kaige* recension are those of Shenkel, O'Connell, Bodine, and Greenspoon, and Gentry.⁵ Shenkel has positively accepted and argued for the existence of a *kaige* layer in the recensional development of the Greek text of Samuel and Kings. O'Connell has further claimed that the

² Barthélemy, *Les devanciers*, 31–47.

³ Beside the Greek scroll and Th-Dan, the other translational units ascribed to this group were Lamentations, Song of Songs, Ruth, the sections *βγ* [2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11] and *γδ* [1 Kgs 22–2 Kings] of Kingdoms, the extant Theodotionic fragments of Job and Jeremiah, the book of Judges as attested in the witnesses *i r u a2* and *B e f s z*, the column attributed to Theodotion in Origen's Hexapla, and the Quinta of Psalms. *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 81–88.

⁵ The list of studies is not exhaustive. For the sake of space, this study confined to briefly mention here those studies produced during the three decades subsequent to Barthélemy's theory: James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, HSM 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); Kevin G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus*, HSM 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*, HSM 23 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980); Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*, HSM 28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); and Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SCS 39 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995). Excepting Gentry's, the fact that these works were written in the same university and under the guidance of the same mentor, i.e. Frank M. Cross, has prompted McLay to refer to the group as "Harvard school." Timothy R. McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 9–14. For the past decades of scholarship on *kaige*, see Peter J. Gentry, "1.3.1.2 Pre-Hexaplaric Translations, Hexapla, Post-Hexaplaric Translations" in *The Hebrew Bible: Overview Articles*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1A (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 222–227.

readings ascribed to Theodotion in the book of Exodus predate the second century historical figure and are actually *kaige* material. Moreover, Bodine confirmed Barthélemy's intuition that the Vaticanus family of Judges constitutes a member of *kaige* recension. Greenspoon has analyzed in detail the Theodotonic readings in Joshua, arguing that the "evidence leaves no doubt that Th[eodotion] in Joshua is to be included in the general *καίγε* recension."⁶ Lastly, Gentry has argued that the asterisked materials in Job attributed to Theodotion are in the nature of a *de novo* translation and suggested that if *kaige* would be broadly defined as "a tradition involving an approach or attitude to translation" then Th-Job would belong to it.⁷

New trends in Septuagintal studies have not been limited to the *kaige* recension alone. Though differing in subject matter from the studies above, the contribution of Tov has further applied the recensional framework to solve intriguing differences in the translational style of sections of Jeremiah, explaining their dissimilarities as a result of a translation-revision process as opposed to a two-translations model.⁸ As a result, all of these investigations have advanced and refined scholarly understanding regarding recensional practices in late antiquity.

Of particular interest for this study are two assertions made by Barthélemy regarding Th-Dan. The first is the claim that this version represents a member of the *kaige* group. The second is implicit in the characterization of the entire corpus of *kaige* as a revision and not a translation. Both claims have generated subsequent scholarly investigations to determine their veracity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON TH-DAN

Barthélemy's claim that Th-Dan is affiliated with *kaige* generated an immediate response by Schmitt.⁹ After a detailed lexical and syntactical comparison between Th-Dan and readings ascribed to Theodotion from other books, Schmitt concluded that the Greek version of Daniel attributed to Theodotion has nothing to do with the texts attributed by Barthélemy to the historical

⁶ Greenspoon, *Textual Studies*, 380.

⁷ Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials*, 496.

⁸ Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8*, HSM 8 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

⁹ Armin Schmitt, *Stammt der sogenannte "θ" –Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?*, MSU 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

Theodotion.¹⁰ Since the implicit claim of Schmitt's study calls into question the affiliation of Th-Dan to the *kaige* tradition, it drew Barthélemy's critique,¹¹ which in turn prompted a response from Schmitt.¹² Schmitt's conclusion, however, was recently substantiated by McLay's study, in which, after comparing ninety-seven features supposedly pertaining to the *kaige* with Th-Dan, he concluded: "This examination of the *kaige* characteristics in Th vindicates the conclusion of A. Schmitt. The most that we can say that Th has in common with *kaige*-Theodotion is that they share a similar approach to translation, i.e. formal equivalence."¹³

Barthélemy's contention that Th-Dan should be classified as a revision of OG-Dan has been the main focus of McLay, Obiajunwa, and Olariu's research and, secondarily, that of Amara and Braasch. Nevertheless, credit is due exclusively to McLay's challenge to common opinion of Th-Dan as a revision. It appears to be the first systematic study carried out in order to answer this question.¹⁴ His assessment of Th-Dan as a new translation demands a fresh examination.¹⁵

Obiajunwa addressed the question of the relationship between the two Greek versions by investigating first the "Semitic interference in θ -Dan by determining how it has rendered Semitic vocabulary, grammar, and syntax

¹⁰ In this regard, Schmitt's conclusions read as follows: "Das Thema dieser Arbeit hat gelaute: "Stammt der sogenannte "0"-Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?" Auf Grund der durchgeführten Untersuchungen kann man diese Frage mit einem klaren Nein beantworten." Ibid., 112.

¹¹ Dominique Barthélemy, "Notes critiques sur quelques points d'histoire du texte," in *Übersetzung und Deutung: Studien zu dem Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt Alexander Reinard Hulst gewidmet* von Freunden und Kollegen (Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G. F. Callenbach b.v., 1977), 9–23; repr. in *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, OBO 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 289–303.

¹² Schmitt reiterates the same conclusions after twenty-five years in his article, "Die griechischen Danieltexte ("0" und o) und das Theodotionproblem," *BZ* 36 (1992): 1–29.

¹³ T. R. McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (SCS 43; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996), 239–240; see also "Kaige and the Septuagint Research," *Text* 19 (1998): 127–139.

¹⁴ Before McLay, only Jeansonne has discussed the issue. However, Jeansonne's study is limited to Dan 8:1–10, and McLay has rightly argued that the discussion lacks methodological rigor. Cf. Pace Sharon Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7–12*, CBQMS 19 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988), 32–57; and Timothy R. McLay, "It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and the Old Greek Texts of Daniel" in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla*, ed. Alison Salvesen, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 232–33.

¹⁵ Admitting that after ten years of writing his dissertation "not much has changed regarding the evaluation of Th as a revision," McLay has substantiated his claim by producing other studies. Cf. Timothy R. McLay, "The Relationship between Greek Translations of Daniel 1–3," *BIOCS* 37 (2004): 29–53; "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55/3 (2005): 304–323.

into Greek.”¹⁶ He then applied his results to test the claim that “ θ -Dan came from a careful and generally consistent revision of the OG to correspond to the MT or a text similar to MT.”¹⁷ Evaluating the data, Obiajunwa backs up McLay’s verdict and concludes that “ θ -Dan is the work of a translator who worked for the most part independently of OG-Dan.”¹⁸

A similar opinion was advanced by Braasch.¹⁹ Examining the quality of the OG-Dan translation as a historical document embedding actualized ideological interpretation, she conceives her analysis as a full-scale investigation of the reception history of Dan 1–7 in the Ptolemaic diaspora. However, in addition to her primary research goal, Braasch addresses other problems, such as the relationship between OG-Dan and Th-Dan.²⁰ Notwithstanding the concession that “occasionally Th used OG-Dan for his own translation,”²¹ Braasch’s final verdict is that Th-Dan constitutes an independent translation.²²

In her recent study on OG-Dan, Amara has allocated a subsection to ponder the relation between the Greek versions of Daniel.²³ After each possible alternative has been exemplified, she concludes that Th-Dan “is not really a revision but another translation which is dependent and influenced by the translation prior to it.”²⁴

Finally, acknowledging the importance of the common basis criterion in demonstrating a translation-revision theory of two texts, Olariu’s study²⁵ has

¹⁶ C. J. Obiajunwa, “Semitic Interference in Theodotion-Daniel” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1999), iv.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 237.

¹⁹ Birte Braasch, “Die LXX-Übersetzung des Danielbuches – eine Orientierungshilfe für das religiöse und politisch-gesellschaftliche Leben in der ptolemäischen Diaspora: Eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Dan 1–7” (PhD diss., Hamburg University, 2003).

²⁰ Ibid., 18.

²¹ Ibid., 291. Though noting the greatest literal correspondence between the two Greek versions in the supplemental poetical passages of OG/Th Dan 3:24–90 (the Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men), Braasch avoids even in this unit recognizing a translation-revision relationship between both texts; she rather problematically posits a common source as the base for both the OG and Th. Ibid., 145–146, 291.

²² Two major complementary observations were adduced by Braasch to substantiate her conclusion: “Th chose his own standard equivalents, and this was also the case where OG-Dan did not deviate from MT” (translation mine). Ibid., 290.

²³ Unfortunately, she has devoted only twelve pages to discussing the nature of the relationship between Th-Dan and OG-Dan. Dalia Amara, “The Old Greek Version of Daniel: The Translation, the Vorlage and the Redaction,” (PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006), 13–25 (Hebrew).

²⁴ Ibid., 25.

²⁵ Daniel Olariu, “The Quest for the Common Basis in the Greek Versions of the Book of Daniel” (MA thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015). This thesis was carried out under the supervision of Emanuel Tov and Michael Segal.

tested the previous claims regarding the low number of significant equivalents shared between the Greek versions of Daniel.²⁶ Significantly, Olariu's results contrast sharply with the minimalist view, contesting the very base of the two-translational model. Not only did he identify a high number of significant equivalents in both canonical and deuterocanonical sections of the book,²⁷ but he also detects traces of recensional techniques.²⁸

3. RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

This study aims to contribute to the ongoing discussion within textual studies for the Book of Daniel regarding the proper characterization of the relationship between the Greek versions of this book. Do OG-Dan and Th-Dan stand in a translation-revision relationship or are they better assessed as two independent translations? By discussing Th-Dan's treatment of the first-found equivalents in OG-Dan for certain Semitic words, the study will argue for the nature of Th-Dan as a revision.

The analysis accepts and employs the standard methodology for testing the nature of a text as a revision. The working hypothesis comprises two criteria: (1) the confirmation of a common basis shared between the two texts based on significant lexical choices and (2) the attestation of revising tendencies in one of the translations aiming to represent the Semitic source text more faithfully.²⁹

²⁶ For instance, McLay's analysis allowed for only five significant agreements between OG-Dan and Th-Dan. According to his statistics they are: Ἐπ' ἀληθείας (2:8); ἐπλήσθη (3:19); τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντα (8:6); ὥραν θυσίας ἐσπερινῆς (9:21); and συντελείας (12:4). McLay even disputes the third agreement listed in his statistics, noting that "[I]t is unlikely that Th is dependent upon OG for this reading." *The Old Greek and Th Versions of Daniel*, 247. The minimalist view is also inherent to the studies of Obiajunwa, Braasch, and Amara which were reviewed above.

²⁷ Olariu's study has singled out eighty-eight significant agreements in MT-Dan, distributed in 103 verses. Ten are *hapax legomena*, twenty-five are rare words, thirty are unique equivalents, and twenty-three are rare equivalents. There is virtually no chapter that lacks significant agreements. Even in the more complex section Dan 4–6 there were detected eleven important agreements distributed over fourteen locations. The search for significant agreements in the Additions to Daniel has produced similar results. Statistically, there were identified five *hapax legomena* and thirty-three rare words, distributed across forty-two verses. "The Quest for the Common Basis," 120, 125.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

²⁹ These criteria were formulated after Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd rev. and enl. ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 265.

The significance of the feature discussed below stems not only from the fact that it has not been addressed in the previous recensional studies, but also that it convincingly demonstrates both Th-Dan's dependence on OG-Dan in selecting its equivalents and the tendency to stereotypically employ them further once adopted.

4. THEODOTON'S TREATMENT OF FIRST-FOUND EQUIVALENTS IN OG-DAN

Intrinsic to a translation-revision relationship between OG-Dan and Th-Dan is the assumption that the reviser, i.e. Theodotion,³⁰ aimed to rework the base text (OG-Dan) toward a better representation of his Semitic Vorlage. Such an endeavor presupposes points of contact between the alleged revision and its base text which are best affirmed by distinctive agreements found in both versions, or in other words, traces of unique OG idiosyncrasies retained by the reviser. The shared equivalents between OG-Dan and Th-Dan adduced below bear this trait, representing unique or rare renditions as compared to the remainder of the Septuagint corpus.

Furthermore, the examples are grouped in categories which describe the reviser's attitudes regarding the first equivalents that he has found in the OG. The most natural option was to adopt the OG renditions (Type 1). The same tendency is further visible in the cases culled in Type 2. However, here the reviser has subsequently changed the OG's equivalent. Type 3 presents two more complex examples displaying the opposite attitude: at first the reviser rejects the first-found OG equivalent, but subsequently adopts it. Lastly, Type 4 presents combined cases of Types 1 and 3: the first OG equivalent was adopted by the reviser and used subsequently for the Semitic word, except in its last occurrence wherein a second significant equivalent was adopted from the OG. As it will be detailed below, the combined attitudes regarding the first-found OG renditions reveal important aspects regarding the mechanics of a recensional process.

³⁰ "Theodotion" is employed to refer to the purported reviser of this text following the traditional ascription to this name. For this study, the issue of whether such a figure existed in the second or first century CE or a pre-Christian time has little bearing. The many problems associated with the name and the version of Theodotion are recognized, e.g. the integrity of the patristic records regarding the figure and floruit of Theodotion, the extent of his revision, the proto-Theodotion layer of text, and/or their relationship to *kaige* tradition, however they are beyond the scope of this study. For an overview of the Theodotionic problem, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 142-54.

Type 1: *First-Found OG Renditions Retained and Employed Subsequently in Th-Dan*

0-שבח (to praise)³¹

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] αἰνέω (αἶνος) <i>to praise</i> (Dan 2:23; 5:23)	[1] αἰνέω (αἶνος) <i>to praise</i> (Dan 2:23; 4:31[34], 34[37]; 5:4, 23)
[2] ἀνθομολογέομαι (ἀντί, ὁμός, λέγω) <i>to confess openly, sing praise, give thanks</i> (Dan 4:34[37])	
[3] εὐλογέω (εὖ, λέγω) <i>to bless</i> (Dan 5:4)	
LXX=0: Dan 4:31[34]	

The Hebrew cognate 1-שבח rarely occurs in MT, representing most likely an Aramaism.³² Furthermore, the nature of the OG-Dan's renditions for 0-שבח suggests that it was translated contextually. Th-Dan seemingly depended on the OG in Dan 2:23, adopting the unique αἰνέω as an acceptable equivalent, and subsequently employing it consistently.

0-ῆ (kind)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] γένος <i>kind</i> (Dan 3:5)	[1] γένος <i>kind</i> (Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15)
[2] ἤχος <i>sound, noise</i> (Dan 3:7, 10, 15)	
and further the cognate ῆ was rendered once with γένος in 2 Chr 16:14.	

³¹ In order to distinguish between words, Aramaic words have been marked with the notation "0-" at their end, i.e. 0-קבל (Dan 2:8). The notation attached to Hebrew words, such as "2-", "3-", or "1-", indicates the number of the root to which the word has been referred to in *HALOT*. Thus, 2-גאל (Dan 1:8) indicates the second root listed in *HALOT*.

³² *HALOT* 5:1989. In addition to the five occurrences of 0-שבח in MT-Dan, the cognate 1-שבח appears eight times. In *piel* it was rendered with ἐπαινέω "to praise" (Ps 63[62]:4; 117[116]:1; 145[144]:4; 147:12; Eccl 4:2; 8:15), whereas in *hitpael* with ἐγκαυχάομαι "to pride oneself in," "to glory in," "to exult" (Ps 106[105]:47), and καυχάομαι "to boast," "to glory" (1 Chr 16:35).

0־ן constitutes a Persian loanword, i.e. *zana*.³³ The difficult nature of the term perhaps explains best the reviser’s recourse to borrow the rare rendition γένος from the OG.³⁴

0־הֶנָּה (governor)

LXX	Th
[1] τοπάρχης (τόπος, ἄρχω) <i>governor; regional ruler</i> (Dan 3:2)	[1] τοπάρχης (τόπος, ἄρχω) <i>governor; regional ruler</i> (Dan 3:2–3, 27[94]; 6:8)
[2] ἀρχιπατριώτης (ἄρχω, πατήρ) <i>family head</i> (Dan 3:27[94])	
LXX=0: Dan 3:3; 6:8	
and further the cognate הֶנָּה was rendered with τοπάρχης twice in 2 Kgs 18:24; Isa 36:9.	

The various equivalents in Septuagint for the Hebrew cognate הֶנָּה suggest that Alexandrian translators contextually approximated its meaning in the target language.³⁵ The variety demonstrably stems from the problematic nature of the word itself which constitutes a foreign importation from Akkadian, i.e. *pī/āhātu*,³⁶ and whose precise meaning was perhaps obscure to the grammarians.

³³ HALOT 5:1867. Furthermore, both Driver and Montgomery assess 0־ן as of Persian origins. Cf. Samuel R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed., International Theological Library (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), 501; Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1964), 21. 0־ן has also penetrated the Hebrew stock of words, being attested three times. Besides 2 Chr 16:14 wherein ן was rendered with γένος, it was rendered twice in Ps 144[143]:13^{2X} etymologically, its meaning being derived from הָ (oŭtoç).

³⁴ Considering its frequent usage in OG-Dan, it can be further argued that γένος belongs to the OG stock of equivalents. Whereas Th-Dan restricts its use only to 0־ן, γένος renders in the OG three other words: זֶרַע “seed” (Dan 1:3); לִשׁוֹן “language” (Dan 7:14); and בֶּן־ “son” (Dan 1:6).

³⁵ Beside τοπάρχης, the other equivalents for הֶנָּה include σατράπης “satrap” (1 Kgs 10:15; 20:24; 2 Chr 9:14); ἡγεμών “governor,” “leader,” “chief” (Jer 51[28]:23, 28; Ezek 23:6, 12, 23; Mal 1:8); φυλὴ “tribe” (Hag 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21); ἄρχων “ruler” (Esth 3:12; 8:9; Neh 5:14¹); ἑπαρχος “commander,” “governor,” “prefect” (Ezra 8:36; Neh 2:7, 9); and βία “violence” (Neh 5:14², 15, 18). LXX=0: Jer 51[28]:57; Esth 9:3; Neh 12:26; Neh 3:7. Τοπάρχης occurs only nine times rendering פֶּקֶד “overseer” (Gen 41:34) and הֶנָּה (see above); MT=0: 1 Esd 3:2, 14; 4:47–49; Esth 13:1.

³⁶ HALOT 5:1955. Likewise, Montgomery, *Daniel*, 20, defines הֶנָּה as an “ancient borrowing,” together with the words הִכִּל, סָרִיס, and סָפֵר.

רָצוֹן (favor)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] θέλω <i>to want, will</i> (Dan 8:4)	[1] θέλημα (θέλω) <i>will, desire</i> (Dan 8:4; 11:3, 16, 36)
[2] βούλομαι <i>to will, want</i> (Dan 11:3)	
[3] θέλημα (θέλω) <i>will, desire</i> (Dan 11:16, 36)	
and further רָצוֹן was rendered seven times with θέλημα in Ps 30[29]:6, 8; 40[39]:9; 103[102]:21; 143[142]:10; 145[144]:19; Esth 1:8.	

Two significant aspects indicate OG-Dan's influence on the reviser's decision to employ θέλημα: (1) רָצוֹן has rarely been rendered with θέλημα in the remainder of Septuagint which was usually reserved for חֵפֶץ "delight"³⁷; and (2) θέλω as an equivalent for רָצוֹן is attested only once in 1 Chr 28:4. Consequently, it stands to reason that the reviser has borrowed the first found lexical choice in the OG, while at the same time correcting its grammatical form, i.e. from verb to noun in accordance with the Hebrew lexeme.

מְשָׁל/מִשְׁלָה + מְשָׁל (to exercise authority)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] κυριεύω <i>to rule over</i> + κυριεία <i>power, authority</i> (Dan 11:3)	[1] κυριεύω <i>to rule over</i> + κυριεία <i>power, authority</i> (Dan 11:3–5)
[2] δυναστεύω <i>to rule, dominate</i> + κυριεία <i>power, authority</i> (Dan 11:4)	
[3] δυναστεύω <i>to rule, dominate</i> + δυνάστης <i>ruler, king, official</i> (Dan 11:5)	

The rare κυριεία renders the rare מְשָׁל and מִשְׁלָה in vv. 3–5.³⁸ Since the shared rendition is tantamount to a significant equivalent, the most likely

³⁷ Cf. 2 Sam 23:5; 1 Kgs 5:22-24; 9:11; Isa 44:28; 48:14; 58:3, 13; Mal 1:10; Ps 1:2; 16[15]:3; 107[106]:30; Job 21:21; Eccl 5:3; 12:1, 10; 2 Chr 9:12.

³⁸ Κυριείας occurs two more times besides the Septuagint of Daniel: once it renders מְשָׁל "to rule" (Isa 40:10) and once it appears in 1 Macc 8:24. Similarly, מְשָׁל occurs once more in 1 Chr 26:6 and was rendered in the Septuagint with πρωτότοκος "firstborn." מְשָׁל occurs once in Zech 9:10 having κατάρχω "to lead," "to govern" as its equivalent. Both equivalents of the rare Hebrew words appear to be contextual. The reviser's dependence on the OG can therefore be explained as a result of the difficult language.

explanation is that the reviser has adopted the first found equivalent in OG-Dan and further applied it consistently for מְשָׁל.³⁹

Type 2. *First-Found OG Renditions Retained but Replaced Subsequently in Th-Dan*

יִתְרֶה (exceeding)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] ὑπερφερής (ὑπέρ, φέρω) <i>surpassing</i> (Dan 2:31)	[1] ὑπερφερής (ὑπέρ, φέρω) <i>surpassing</i> (Dan 2:31)
[2] ὑπὲρ τὸ πρότερον ἐπαπλασίωσ (Dan 3:22)	→ περισσός <i>more, remaining, excessive, to the full</i> (Dan 3:22; 4:33[36]; 5:12, 14; 6:4[3]; 7:7, 19)
[3] ἅγιος (ἅγιος) <i>holy</i> (Dan 5:12; 6:4[3])	
[4] ὑπερφέρω (ὑπέρ, φέρω) <i>to surpass</i> (Dan 7:7)	
[5] + 0-לחל ὑπέρφοβος (ὑπέρ, φόβος) <i>very terrifying</i> (Dan 7:19)	
LXX=0: Dan 4:33[36]; 5:14	

Ὑπερφερής constitutes a significant equivalent (*hapax legomenon*) shared between the OG and Th in Dan 2:31.⁴⁰ The reviser has coined subsequently his own stereotyped rendition which contrasts the OG-Dan's free renderings.⁴¹

שְׁלָה (prosperity, tranquility)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] δόλος <i>deceit</i> (Dan 8:25)	[1] δόλος <i>deceit</i> (Dan 8:25)
[2] ἐξάπινα (ἐκ, ἄφνω) <i>suddenly</i> (Dan 11:21, 24)	→ εὐθηνία (εὐθηνέω) <i>prosperity</i> (Dan 11:21, 24)

³⁹ The MT features in v. 4 the word מְשָׁל, i.e. מְשָׁלָה. However, considering that both versions translate the phrase with κατὰ τὴν κυριεῖαν αὐτοῦ it might suggest that the actual reading in their Vorlagen was כַּמְּשָׁלָה, wherein the letter מ was once omitted because of haplography. If this is the case, the MT may support emendation based on the joint attestation of the Greek versions.

⁴⁰ Cf. Olariu, "The Quest for the Common Basis," 40–41.

⁴¹ Περισσός is absent from OG-Dan. However, it is attested nineteen times in the Septuagint wherein it consistently translates יתר, cf. Exod 10:5; Num 4:26; 1 Sam 30:9; 2 Kgs 25:11; Prov 14:23; Eccl 2:15; 6:11; 7:16; 12:9, 11; Sir 3:23; Ezek 48:15, 18, 21, 23; MT=0: 1 Macc 9:22; 2 Macc 12:44; Sol 4:2.

הַלְוִי has apparently challenged the OG-Dan's translator who rendered it erroneously.⁴² There is good reason to believe that Th-Dan understood הַלְוִי properly. However it relied on OG-Dan in 8:25 because of its ambiguous use in the context.⁴³ Th-Dan has retained δόλος due to exegetical reasons but subsequently has corrected the erroneous ἐξάπινα with a more appropriate equivalent.⁴⁴

0-יִי (radiance, brightness)

LXX	Th
[1] πρόσσωις <i>appearance</i> (Dan 2:31)	[1] πρόσσωις <i>appearance</i> (Dan 2:31)
[2] δόξα <i>glory</i> (Dan 4:33[36])	→ μορφή <i>form, appearance</i> (Dan 4:33[36]; 5:6, 9, 10; 7:28)
[3] ὄρασις <i>sight; vision</i> (Dan 5:6)	
[4] ἐξίς <i>habit, use, practice</i> (Dan 7:28)	
LXX=0: Dan 5:9, 10	
and further πρόσσωις occurs three times: twice in OG-Dan rendering 0-יִי “appearance” (Dan 2:31) and 0-יִי “vision” (Dan 7:20) and once in 2 Macc 6:18.	

The problematic loan word 0-יִי, i.e. from the Akkadian *zīmu(m)*,⁴⁵ has ostensibly required the reviser to rely on OG-Dan in 2:31. Considering the rareness of πρόσσωις and the difficult 0-יִי, it is likely that πρόσσωις stems from OG-Dan and the reviser relied on the first-found OG lexical choice. He subsequently adopted μορφή, probably also under the influence of the OG.⁴⁶

⁴² Whereas the use of δόλος for הַלְוִי in OG-Dan 8:25 has much to commend due to the presence of 1-מָהָה “deceit” in the same verse, ἐξάπινα in 11:21, 24 apparently represents a contextual guess with no exegetical incentives.

⁴³ That Th-Dan has understood הַלְוִי can be inferred from both the way it was properly rendered with εὐθηνία in 11:21, 24 and the translation of its Aramaic cognate 0-לָהָה “at ease” with εὐθηνέω “to thrive,” “to be prosperous” (Dan 4:1[4]). However, considering the nature of the context in 8:25 that would request a “negative” term to designate the evil actions of the little horn, Th-Dan has adopted the erroneous δόλος for הַלְוִי as an exegetical maneuver to clarify the context.

⁴⁴ Besides Daniel, הַלְוִי occurs five times and its meaning has been deduced erroneously thrice (Jer 22:21; Prov 1:32; 17:1). In the other two instances the Septuagint renders it with εὐθηνία (Ezek 16:49; Ps 122[121]:7).

⁴⁵ HALOT 5:1864.

⁴⁶ The reviser was apparently dissatisfied by the first found equivalent and has renounced to πρόσσωις for μορφή after he came across it with the latter in OG-Dan 3:19. Because of its rarity, μορφή is tantamount to another significant agreement shared between OG-Dan and Th-Dan.

קטל (to slay)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] ἀποκτείνω (ἀπό, κτείνω) <i>to kill</i> (Dan 2:13 ¹)	[1] ἀποκτείνω (ἀπό, κτείνω) <i>to kill</i> (Dan 2:13 ¹)
[2] συναπόλλυμι (σύν, ἀπό, ὀλλυμι) <i>to perish together</i> (Dan 2:13 ²)	→ ἀναιρέω (ἀνά, αἰρέω) <i>to destroy,</i> <i>carry off, kill</i> (Dan 2:13 ² , 14; 5:19, 30; 7:11)
[3] ἐξάγω (ἐκ, ἄγω) <i>to lead away,</i> <i>bring out</i> (Dan 2:14)	Th=0: Dan 3:22
[4] ἀποτυμπανίζω (ἀπό, τύπος) <i>to</i> <i>bludgeon to death</i> (Dan 7:11)	
LXX=0: Dan 3:22; 5:19, 30	
and further ἀποκτείνω renders the cognate קטל once more in Ps 139[138]:19.	

It appears that the OG's translator grasped the meaning of קטל, though the catalog of his lexical choices is prone to rare words⁴⁷ and peculiar equivalents.⁴⁸ The opposite tendency is visible in Th-Dan. Subsequent to its borrowing of the rare rendition ἀποκτείνω, Th-Dan changes to ἀναιρέω which represents a more conventional equivalent.⁴⁹

יָלֵד (child)

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] νεανίσκος <i>young man</i> (Dan 1:4, 10, 13, 15, 17)	[1] νεανίσκος <i>young man</i> (Dan 1:4) → παιδάριον <i>child, boy</i> (Dan 1:10, 13, 15, 17)
and further νεανίσκος renders יָלֵד three times in Gen 4:23; Eccl 4:15; Ezra 10:1.	

⁴⁷ Both συναπόλλυμι and ἀποτυμπανίζω occur rarely: eight and two times, respectively. The former mostly translates ספס "to sweep away" (Gen 18:23; 19:15; Num 16:26; Deut 29:18; Sir 8:15), but also once it reflects etymological exegesis (Ps 26[25]:9; cf. אסף "to gather"); once it occurs in a plus (Ps 28[27]:3); and twice lacks a counterpart in Hebrew (Odes 12:13; Wis 10:3). Ἀποτυμπανίζω appears only once in the apocryphal literature (3 Macc 3:27) beside Dan 7:11.

⁴⁸ Ἀποκτείνω and ἐξάγω represent rare and hapax renditions in the Septuagint for קטל. The use of the latter imprecisely in Dan 2:14 aims at solving the internal logic of the narrative which confuses the reader regarding the task of Arioch: How could Daniel still approach Arioch if he was already on his way executing an imperial order? OG-Dan solves the issue by reinterpreting the nature of Arioch's imperial assignment from "putting the wise men of Babylon to death" (MT) toward "bringing forward the savants of Babylonia" (OG).

⁴⁹ Ἀναιρέω occurs frequently in the Septuagint—over eighty times—translating primarily roots denoting violence, e.g. הרג, מות, נכה, פגע, and חרם. The reviser has presumably preferred ἀναιρέω instead of ἀποκτείνω since the latter was the main equivalent for הרג while the former was used more broadly in the Septuagint to translate the language of violence.

The rare equivalent νεανίσκος stems from the OG and was seemingly replaced with παιδάρτιον because of the reviser's interest to prioritize standard equivalents.⁵⁰

Type 3. *First-Found OG Renditions Rejected but Adopted Subsequently in Th-Dan*

0-הנש (to change)⁵¹

LXX	Th
[1] ἀλλοιόω <i>to change, alter, reject, alienate</i> (Dan 2:9, 21; 3:19, 27[94]; 4:13[16]; 5:6; 6:9[8])	[1] παρέρχομαι (παρά, ἔρχομαι) <i>to pass by, pass away</i> (Dan 2:9)
[2] ἀθετέω (α, τίθημι) <i>to reject; to rebel against</i> (Dan 3:28[95])	[2] ἀλλοιόω <i>to change, alter, reject, alienate</i> (Dan 2:21; 3:19, 27[94], 28[95]; 4:13[16]; 5:6, 9, 10; 6:9[8], 18[17])
[3] αἴρω <i>to take up</i> (Dan 6:18[17])	[3] παραλλάσσω (παρά, ἄλλος) <i>to change</i> (Dan 6:16[15])
LXX=0: Dan 5:9, 10; 6:16[15]	

0-הנש occurs twelve times in Dan 1–6 and was consistently rendered in OG-Dan with ἀλλοιόω.⁵² The reviser rejects in Dan 2:9 the first found equivalent, seemingly looking to coin his own rendition.⁵³ However, he decides to adopt ἀλλοιόω subsequently.

⁵⁰ Παιδάρτιον constitutes one of the two main equivalents for תנ"ך in Septuagint. The complete range of renditions for תנ"ך include: παῖδιον (Gen 21:8, 14–16; 30:26; 32:23; 33:1–2, 5, 13; 44:20; Exod 2:3, 6–10; 21:4, 22; 1 Sam 1:2; 2 Sam 6:23; 12:15; 1 Kgs 3:25; Isa 8:18; 9:5; 11:7; Jer 31:20; Job 21:11; 39:3; Ruth 4:16; Lam 4:10); παιδάρτιον (Gen 33:14; 37:30; 42:22; 2 Sam 12:18–19, 21–22; 1 Kgs 12:8, 10, 14; 17:21–22; 2 Kgs 4:18, 26, 34; Joel 4:3; Zech 8:5; 2 Chr 10:8, 10); τέκνον (Gen 33:6–7; Isa 2:6; 29:23; 57:4–5; Hos 1:2; Neh 12:43); νεανίσκος (Gen 4:23; Eccl 4:15; Ezra 10:1); ἄρσην (Exod 1:17–18); αὐτός (1 Kgs 17:23); παῖς (2 Kgs 2:24; Eccl 4:13); υἱός (2 Kgs 4:1; Ruth 1:5); νεοσσός (Job 38:41); νέος (2 Chr 10:14). LXX=0: 1 Kgs 14:12.

⁵¹ The discussion regarding 0-הנש is confined only to chapters 2–6. In Daniel 7, Th-Dan again relies on new equivalent introduced by the OG, i.e. διαφέρει “to be better,” “to differ,” which represents another significant agreement. Cf. Olariu, “Quest for the Common Basis,” 64–67.

⁵² The equivalent constitutes a cherished word in the OG-Dan: out of its thirty-seven occurrences in the Septuagint, fourteen occur in OG-Dan, cf. Dan 2:9, 21; 3:19, 94; 4:16, 19, 33, 37; 5:6; 6:9, 13; 7:25. OG-Dan is followed by Sirah wherein the term appears ten times, cf. Sir 12:18; 13:25; 25:17; 27:11; 33:8, 11; 36:5; 38:27; 40:5. See further 1 Sam 21:14; 2 Kgs 25:29; Jdt 10:7; 1 Macc 1:26; 11:12; Ps 34[33]:1; 45[44]:1; 60[59]:1; 69[68]:1; 73[72]:21; 80[79]:1; 109[108]:24; Mal 3:6; Lam 4:1.

⁵³ There are seemingly no contextual reasons in Dan 2:9 which could have caused the reviser to reject ἀλλοιόω. The phrases καιρός ἀλλοιόω/ἀλλοιόω καιρός are attested in both OG-Dan (2:9, 21; 4:34[37]; 7:25) and Th-Dan (2:21; 4:20[23]; 7:25), referring to God and humans as agents of changing time. Besides Daniel, the phrase occurs once in Sir 33[36]:8.

מְרָאָה (appearance)⁵⁴

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] + 1-טוב-pleasant, good εὐειδής (εῖ, εἶδος) <i>beautiful in form</i> (Dan 1:4) [2] ὄψις (ὀράω) <i>face</i> (Dan 1:13 ¹ , 15) LXX=0: Dan 1:13 ²	[1] ὄψις (ὀράω) <i>face</i> (Dan 1:4) [2] ἰδέα (εἶδος) <i>form; countenance</i> (Dan 1:13 ^{2X} , 15)

The change of equivalents in Th-Dan from the standard ὄψις toward the rare word ἰδέα is intriguing.⁵⁵ However, a closer look at the first found equivalent for מְרָאָה in OG-Dan provides the clue. The translator has freely condensed the phrase מְרָאָה טוֹבִי to a single word—the hapax compound εὐειδής. Significantly, Th’s equivalent ἰδέα shares the same root with the OG’s εὐειδής, i.e. εἶδ-, suggesting that the reviser has made use of a reworked form of it after its rejection in v. 4.⁵⁶

Type 4. *First and Last-Found OG Renditions Retained in Th-Dan*פַּת־בֶּן/פַּתִּיבָּנ (portion)⁵⁷

<i>LXX</i>	<i>Th</i>
[1] τράπεζα <i>table</i> (Dan 1:5) [2] δεῖπνον <i>dinner, supper</i> (Dan 1:8, 13, 15–16)	[1] τράπεζα <i>table</i> (Dan 1:5, 8, 13, 15) [2] δεῖπνον <i>dinner, supper</i> (Dan 1:16)

⁵⁴ The discussion here is confined to the translation of מְרָאָה only in chapter 1. Ἰδέα is attested only five times in Gen 5:3 (דְּמוּת “likeness”); 2 Macc 3:16; 4 Macc 1:14, 18; LetJer 1:62.

⁵⁵ Ὀψις occurs seventy-five times in the Septuagint and mainly translates מְרָאָה, cf. Gen 24:16; 26:7; 29:17; 39:6; 41:21; Lev 13:3–4, 20, 25, 30–32, 34; 14:37; 1 Sam 16:7; Ezek 1:13; 10:9–10; 23:15; 41:21; Joel 2:4; Song 2:14^{2X}.

⁵⁶ The most likely reason for the reviser’s decision to discontinue ὄψις starting with v. 13 pertains to stylistics. Considering that v. 13 clusters four times the root רָאָה—twice as a verb and twice as a noun—the situation may have caused the reviser to choose not to repetitively employ each time the equivalents ὀράω and its derivate ὄψις. The solution he adopted was to refine the first found OG-Dan equivalent, i.e. εἶδος » ἰδέα. OG-Dan worked in v. 13 in the opposite direction: it employed the standard ὄψις for the nouns but rendered the verb with two different equivalents, i.e. φαίνω “to appear,” “to shine” and θέλω “to want,” “to will.” Th-Dan uses ὀράω twice in this verse which was introduced as an equivalent for the verb in v. 10.

⁵⁷ The discussion here is confined to the translation of פַּת־בֶּן only in chapter 1. The word occurs once more in Dan 11:26 where both versions renders it differently, struggling to make sense of it in the context. The reviser’s intuition to use δεῖ פַּת־בֶּן (as comparing with the imprecise OG equivalent μέριμνα “care,” “anxiety”) was probably influenced by the presence of אָכַל “to eat” in the immediate context, i.e. וְאֵכְלֵי פַת־בֶּנִי יִשְׁבְּרוּהוּ “those who eat of his food will ruin him.”

פִּתְבָּג (also spelled פִּתְבָּג) is confined only to MT-Dan, representing a Persian loan word, i.e. *patibaga*.⁵⁸ Its meaning was demonstrably obscure to the OG-Dan's translator who rendered the word contextually. Consequently, he used for the first time the unique rendition τράπεζα (v. 5) and subsequently the rare δεῖπνον (vv. 8, 13, 15–16).⁵⁹ The attestation in Th-Dan ch. 1 of both terms—which clearly features all the qualities of significant agreements—indicates the dependence of the reviser on the OG in selecting his equivalents.⁶⁰

The reviser therefore adopted the first-found imprecise τράπεζα in v. 5 and further maintained it in vv. 8, 13, and 15 because of consistency reasons. That Th-Dan relied on the OG becomes evident in v. 16. Since the first-found equivalent τράπεζα would not suit the context, the reviser adopted the other OG equivalent δεῖπνον.⁶¹

וַיֵּצִיב (certain)

LXX	Th
[1] ἀλήθεια (α, λανθάνω) [noun] <i>truth, truthfulness, faithfulness</i> (Dan 2:8)	[1] ἀλήθεια (α, λανθάνω) [noun] <i>truth, truthfulness, faithfulness</i> (Dan 2:8)
[2] ἀκριβής [adj.] <i>strict, precise, exact</i> (Dan 2:45; 6:13)	[2] ἀληθινός (α, λανθάνω) [adj.] <i>true, genuine</i> (Dan 2:45; 6:13)
[3] ἀκρίβεια (ἀκριβής) [noun] <i>accuracy; precise meaning</i> (Dan 7:16)	[3] ἀληθῶς (α, λανθάνω) [adv.] <i>truly</i> (Dan 3:24)
LXX=0: Dan 3:24[91]	[4] ἀκρίβεια (ἀκριβής) [noun] <i>accuracy; precise meaning</i> (Dan 7:16)

⁵⁸ HALOT 3:984. According to Amara, פִּתְבָּג has also “entered into Greek as ποτίβαζις but it appears that none of the translators knew of it.” “The Old Greek Version of Daniel,” 18, (at n. 48).

⁵⁹ Δεῖπνον appears in OG-Dan four times in the chapter 1, whereas elsewhere it is attested only once in 4 Macc 3:9. Besides its adoption in Th-Dan 1:16, the rare equivalent was employed once more in 5:1 where it renders וַיֵּצִיב.

⁶⁰ Cf. Olariu, “The Quest for the Common Basis,” 46–49.

⁶¹ The MT-Dan 1:16 reads: וַיֵּצִיב אֶת־פִּתְבָּגָם וַיִּין מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם וַיִּרְעִינֵם. If the text of Th-Dan maintained τράπεζα as the equivalent for פִּתְבָּגָם, it would have read: καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀμελσαδ ἀναιρούμενος τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ πόματος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς σπέρματα “And there was Hamelsad withholding their table and the wine of their drink, and he would give them seeds.” Consequently, it stands to reason that the reviser abandoned τράπεζα and adopted δεῖπνον from the OG to solve the problem. See also Amara, “The Old Greek Version of Daniel,” 18 (at n. 47).

The adj. *יָצִיב־0* occurs five times and is limited to MT-Dan. Any correlation with the Hebrew cognate root *יצב* could not prove helpful because of its different meaning “to stand,” “to present oneself.”⁶² Consequently, Th-Dan has most likely relied on the first-found equivalent for *יָצִיב־0* in OG-Dan 2:8 because it fits contextually. In the subsequent instances, whereas the OG-Dan translator preferred *ἀκριβής*, the reviser has stereotypically maintained *ἀλήθεια*, adapting its grammatical category to either adjective (Dan 2:45; 6:13) or adverb (Dan 3:24). Significantly, in the final occurrence of the adj. *יָצִיב־0* in Dan 7:16 the reviser clearly demonstrates dependence on the OG by adopting its rare word *ἀκρίβεια*.⁶³

5. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

As was suggested earlier, inherent to the hypothesis of a translation-revision relationship between the Greek versions of Daniel is the validation of the *sine qua non* criteria that they share a common basis and that the alleged revision renders more faithfully its underlying text. The first criterion presupposes points of contacts between the two texts, whereas the latter explains most of their differences as the result of the reviser’s attempts to correct the translation toward a more literal representation his Vorlage. It is the thesis of this study that the combined evidence of the categories above unequivocally demonstrates a translation-revision relationship between OG-Dan and Th-Dan. Certain comments are necessary for a clearer comprehension of the data:

- (1) The examples adduced in this study to illustrate the treatment of first found equivalents share an important feature: they are significant agreements. This is to say that the agreements between OG-Dan and Th-Dan in these instances are anchored in lexical choices which can hardly be explained as coincidences; they are rather the result of borrowings by the alleged Th-Dan’s reviser from OG-Dan. Consequently, examples in

⁶² HALOT 2:427. The root appears forty-eight times as a verb and only in the *hitpael* stem.

⁶³ Both shared renditions *ἀλήθεια* and *ἀκρίβεια* are tantamount to significant equivalents. The former constitutes a *hapax* equivalent while the latter a rare shared word. As a noun *ἀκρίβεια* occurs three other times in Wis 12:21; Sir 16:25; 42:4. The adj. *ἀκριβής* occurs also rarely: four times in Sir 18:29; 19:25; 31:24; 32:3 and once in Esth 4:5. Th-Dan employs one more time *ἀκρίβεια* in 7:16. However, its second appearance in the same verse represents a plus and it is difficult to precisely ascertain whether it reflects a clarifying addition or a later expansionistic harmonization within the same verse.

Types A and B document the reviser's favorable attitude toward the first-found OG's equivalents. Whereas in the former case the reviser further retains the equivalents, in Type B he replaces them subsequently with renditions that in his view are more fitting. In many of these cases it can be argued that there are good reasons to suspect the difficult nature of the Semitic lexicon which has thereby required the reviser to rely on the OG's first-found equivalents. Furthermore, Type C suggests the reviser was ultimately inspired from OG-Dan's first-found equivalents even though he initially rejected them. Lastly, Type D demonstrates Th-Dan dependence on the first and the last appearances of the OG-Dan lexical choices.

- (2) In addition to the attestation of the common basis, all types of examples simultaneously document the reviser's tendency to maximize stereotyping. This observation confirms the second criterion of the working hypothesis, convincingly indicating that one of the reviser's objectives was to consistently maintain, as much as possible, the same equivalent for a Semitic word, in each of its occurrences. In examples of Type A he successfully applied his principle by transforming the first-found OG renditions into absolute stereotyped ones in his revision. Similarly, Types B and D show that the OG's influence on Th-Dan either on the first or the last found equivalent has affected the reviser's agenda of stereotyping. Nevertheless, these slight deviations from lexical consistency shared with the OG are of much value, pointing to their shared textual basis. The two examples of Type C hint that the reviser occasionally attempted to coin his own renditions, but remained open to abandon them and use the OG's equivalents. They also affirm the reviser's preference for consistency.
- (3) The combined evidence of the categories interpreted as a whole present a strong argument confirming certain assumptions intrinsic to the recensional theory. Foremost, each shared significant agreement between OG-Dan and Th-Dan presupposes a point of contact between the two versions, arguing that the reviser had in front of his eyes not only the Hebrew-Aramaic text but also a base text, namely, OG-Dan. For instance, the contact between Danielic versions is demonstrated throughout chapter 2 in which both texts share significant agreements in vv. 8 (ἀλήθεια), 13 (ἀποκτείνω), 21 (ἀλλοιόω), 23 (αἰνέω), 31 (ὑπερφερής; πρόσονις).⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Furthermore, Th-Dan shares the OG's significant agreements four times in chapter 1 (vv. 4 [νεανίσκος], 5 [τράπεζα], 13 [ιδέα], 16 [δεῖπνον]); twice in chapter 3 (vv. 2 [τοπάρχης] and 5 [γένος]); twice in chapter 8 (vv. 4 [θέλημα] and 25 [δόλος]); and once each in 7:16 (ἀκρίβεια) and 11:3 (κυριεύω + κυριεία).

Consequently, both the minimalist views regarding Th-Dan's use of the OG and the characterization of Th-Dan as an independent translation "with an eye on OG-Daniel" are found to be lacking.⁶⁵

Furthermore, this base text occasioned the reviser's opportunity to decide between two alternatives regarding how to deal with the first-found equivalents for a Semitic word in the OG, either to accept or reject them. The fact that the reviser borrows these renditions, rejects but subsequently adopts them, adopts but then switches to different ones of his own coinage, or adopts the first and last OG's distinctive lexical choices demonstrates both mechanical manipulation of the base text and continuous consultation with it.

The examples in the present study further provide a satisfactory explanation of the differences extant between Th-Dan and OG-Dan as the result of the reviser's attempt to consistently rework the base text towards a word-for-word representation of the source text. Consequently, an investigation of their disparities affords the opportunity of recovering the *modus operandi* of the reviser rather than the indices of a *de novo* translation.

6. CONCLUSION

This study argued for a translation-revision relationship between the Greek versions of Daniel as compared to the Hebrew-Aramaic text. The model represents the best explanation for a feature which has not yet been noted in recensional scholarship, namely, the reviser's treatment of the first-found equivalent of a Semitic lexeme in his base text. The interplay between the mechanical alternatives of Th-Dan to either adopt and/or reject OG-Dan's renditions, the character of the shared renditions between Th-Dan and the OG as distinctive, and the tendency of Th-Dan to maximize stereotyping convincingly recommend Th-Dan as a recension of OG-Dan.

DANIEL OLARIU
Hebrew University
Jerusalem, Israel
daniel.olariu@mail.huji.ac.il

⁶⁵ Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 82.

Jacob of Edessa's Witness to the "Theodotion" Daniel Text: Preliminary Observations

Bradley J. MARSH, Jr.*

BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO JACOB'S DANIEL

The book of Daniel in Greek is renowned for its textual complexities. Not only are there two versions of the book, the Old Greek (hereafter OG) and "Theodotion" (hereafter θ'), but these versions often differ significantly from one another, both textually and literarily.¹ This state of affairs is further complicated in the transmission history, as is shown by the fact that witnesses of the latter at times transmit readings or other features of the former and *vice versa*.² Such is revealed by the large degree of cross-breeding (or "contamination" depending on one's point of view) amongst the extant MSS, something that can be easily observed in even a casual perusal of the collations recorded in the Göttingen edition's apparatuses.³

Yet there is another witness to Greek Daniel-Bel-Dragon-Susanna, one missing from the Göttingen apparatuses, which has received no meaningful

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¹ Scholars, even to this day, still differ on the precise relationship between the two editions. For a current overview of the debates in scholarship, see D. Olariu, "18.1 Textual History of Daniel", *Textual History of the Bible* (hereafter *THB*, Vol. 1C, eds. A. Lange and E. Tov, Leiden: Brill, 2017), 517-27.

² For example, observe the OG readings found in Lucianic witnesses (e.g., 2:10, 17, etc.) and other first millennium MSS (e.g., 2:11, 6:18). Note that there are also unmarked θ' readings in the margin of the Syrohexapla (hereafter SH, e.g., Sus 56, Dan 2:35, et al). These seem to show that there was some kind of conscious effort, however inconsistent, on the part of ancient scribes to collate disparate sources.

³ For example, in Dan 1 the annotations "= o", "ex o", or "cf. o" are found in J. Ziegler's θ' apparatus a combined twelve times. O. Munnich's revised OG apparatus provides the same annotations ("= θ' ", "ex θ' ", or "cf. θ' ") in Dan 1 four times. Note that there are also readings from OG in θ' -based daughter versions which were not recorded in the Göttingen apparatus. See, for example, the Old Church Slavonic (third recension, OCS-3) which transmits OG readings at Dan 4:26 and 6:18. Compare also the chronological order of the Dan cycle in OCS-2 which illustrates the same kind of influence, even if indirect. See A. M. Bruni, "18.4.7 Old Church Slavonic Translations," *THB* 1C.591-95, esp.593.

study until now, namely the Syriac revision of Jacob of Edessa (d. 708 CE).⁴ Jacob's text (hereafter JDan) is known from a single MS now kept in Paris (BnF 27B), written in an attractive book-hand⁵ in 719-20 CE, merely 15 years after he had completed the autograph in 704/5.⁶ It is well-known that the Edessene polymath's biblical revision consists of an amalgamation of Syriac and Greek sources, as has been demonstrated by previous studies on excerpts from his revision of the Pentateuch, the books of Samuel (hereafter JSam), Isaiah, and Wisdom.⁷ Further, the most thorough of these studies, Richard Saley's 1998 monograph examining JSam,⁸ shows beyond doubt that Jacob emended his native Peshitta (hereafter P) by recourse to multiple, simultaneously-used Greek Septuagintal traditions, the Lucianic/Antiochene recension in particular.⁹

Jacob's predilection for employing more than one Greek recension of a given biblical book during the course of his revision is indeed interesting. Unfortunately, Jacob's extant writings do not provide any explanation as to his motive for working in this manner. However, what can be said is that Jacob's multi-textual *modus operandi* was not limited to his reworking of the books of Samuel. This is so as preliminary analysis of JDan, based on the present writer's working collations, reveals that Jacob's attestation to Greek Daniel is also multifarious. In fact, preliminary work on the JDan MS confirms that Jacob used both the θ' and OG versions of Daniel.¹⁰ What is more, analysis of his use of the latter shows that more than one copy of the OG was at

⁴ The writer's current research is aimed at producing the *editio princeps* of Jacob's revision of Daniel. The edition will present his idiosyncratic text, together with a source-critical apparatus, an annotated English translation, and selected commentary. Comprehensive prolegomena will preface the work including analysis of all Jacob's surviving Danielic scholia.

⁵ See a plate of the MS published in W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (2nd series, Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946), 98 and plate XLVII.

⁶ See H. Zotenberg, *Manuscripts Orientaux: Catalogues des Manuscrits Syriaques et Sabéens (Mandaïtes) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874), 11-12.

⁷ See the "Bibliographic Clavis (Revised and Expanded)" provided by D. Kruisheer in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*, ed. Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 265-93.

⁸ *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa: A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁹ See Saley's study, chapters IV and V. The idea that Jacob's recension would reflect Lucianic/Antiochene Greek was first proposed by A. M. Ceriani (*Monumenta Sacra et Profana* II.i [Milan, 1863], x and 154). See also the study by Alison Salvesen, "Jacob of Edessa's Version of 1-2 Samuel: Its Method and Text-Critical Value" (*Syriac Culture*, 127-44), which provides an assessment of the utilization of JSam in the collations of Brooke-McLean.

¹⁰ On the presence of OG in JDan, see my "'Darius son of Ahasuerus, King of the Persians': Textuality and Chronology in Jacob of Edessa's Book of Daniel", *Textus*, 28 (2019): 67-104.

his disposal, including (at least) one which transmitted readings no longer extant.¹¹ This naturally begs the question: Did Jacob similarly use more than one θ' MS throughout the course of his revision?

In what follows, brief analyses are provided for a series of short excerpts from the yet unpublished JDan ms. These will illustrate that Jacob not only used more than one witness to θ' Dan, he even used more than one Theodotonic recension. In particular, Jacob's previously-identified predilection for the Lucianic/Antiochene recension (hereafter Luc.) is exhibited. Further space is allotted for places where JDan's witness can be used to propose reconstructed Greek variants, belonging to both the θ' majority text as well as the Luc. strand. However, before proceeding, an example of Jacob's editorial practice is examined so that his textual procedure may be better appreciated.

THE NATURE OF JACOB'S BLENDING

While the JDan colophon has survived in full, it unfortunately does not adequately designate Jacob's sources. Instead, the appended note describes his editorial method in a very general fashion stating that he "emended [Daniel] from two editions [مجلدین], from that of the Greeks and that of the Syrians [...]" (fol. 148a). The subscription then is not the kind of explanation modern text-critics desire, given it provides little more than could be ascertained from a casual reading of JDan, with P in one hand and an edition of OG-0' in the other.¹² Thus, we are left to analysis of the text itself. It must be said however, that this too is not without complications. For it appears

¹¹ Jacob's use of more than one OG source can be inferred from the scholion he provided at JDan 3:31 in the MS reading as follows (fol. 109b):

[illegible]

And also concerning the vision of the tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw, in some exemplars (it reads) “in the 18th year of his reign”. This chronological information is of course only found in OG witnesses. For further analysis of this scholion, see “Darius son of Ahasuerus, King of the Persians”, 74 with n. 34.

¹² The colophons to Jacob's recension (JRec) which are currently accessible (i.e., JGen, JNum, JSam, JDan) all say the same thing—that Jacob “emended” (ܥܕܐ *eth/pael*) the text of scripture using both P and the Greek. The JSam colophon deviated slightly making reference to “those of the Greeks” (Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 6). Salvesen suggested that perhaps the reference to multiple Greek sources (i.e., “those”) included the SH (“Jacob of Edessa’s Version”, 139, n. 42). For an in-depth discussion of the JRec colophons and their value, see the forthcoming edition.

JDan 1:13-14 (fol. 95b)

[illegible]

1.13 'And let our appearances be seen before you and the appearances of *all those* youths who are eating the from the king's table; and if you see that our appearance has changed (worse) than those other youths, whatever *seems (good) to you*, do with your servants.' 1.14 And he acquiesced to them in this matter, and he tested them ten days.

1:13 **ⲓⲛⲁⲃⲁⲛⲁ** **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲁⲛⲁ**: και οφθηῶσαν ἐνώπιον σου θ' (om. εν. σου 230 590 Aeth) {Theod.}] και εαν φανη OG **ⲕⲱⲃⲁⲛⲁ** **ⲕⲁ** SH: **ⲕⲱⲃⲁⲛⲁ** P | **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲁ**: αι ιδεαι ημων θ' {Theod.}] η οψις ημων OG **ⲓⲛⲁ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** SH: **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** P | **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**: κ. αι ιδεαι θ' {Theod.}] **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲃⲱ** P: > OG SH | **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲁ** **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲁ**: {prp. θ' var.} (των παιδαριων) παντων των (εσθοντων) -ων Ⲓ -ων] > P θ' OG SH | **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**: την τραπεζαν θ' (της τραπεζης 584 verss.P) {Theod.}] **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ** P (c. sey. 912): (του βασιλικου) δειπνου OG (**ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**) **ⲕⲁⲓⲱⲃⲱ** SH (→ App at 1.8) | **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ**: εαν φανη) OG (**ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**) **ⲕⲁ** SH or an ιδης θ' {Gk.}] **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** P | **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲱ**: η οψις ημων OG SH (**ⲓⲛⲁ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ**) {OG = SH, adj., slightly}] > P θ' | **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**: διατετραμμενη παρα 88 SH (**ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ**) {OG ≠ SH}] διαφανης παρα OG⁹⁶⁷: > P θ' | **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ** **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ**: τους αλλους νεανισκους OG SH (**ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲁⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ**) {OG ≠ SH}] > P θ' | **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**: καθως εαν OG SH or και καθως εαν (εαν A' V C' alii) θ' {Gk.}] **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱ** P | **ⲓⲱⲃⲱ** **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ**: {adapted from φανη OG **ⲕⲱⲃⲱⲃⲁ** SH in v 13a or prp. OG var. φανη σοι (prev. level forms)?}] θεωρης ουτω OG: ιδης ουτω(ς)

¹³ Saley's description is apt: "In [JSam] alternate readings are often laid side by side, though more often one is chosen to the exclusion of the other. At points there is an attempt to interweave alternate readings without combining them; at other times a single text is followed consistently" (*Samuel Manuscript*, 6).

¹⁴ While Jacob's editorial policy is difficult to determine, there are some general tendencies. For example, uncommon proper names in the biblical text are often taken from Greek source (see note 41 below).

¹⁵ Editions used in this study: P = The Peshitta Institute (eds., based on T. Sprey's collations), *Dodekapropheton—Daniel-Bel-Draco* (Vol. 3/4, Vetus Testamentum Syriace, Leiden: Brill, 1980). All Leiden sigla are used for P mss. OG and θ' = eds. Ziegler, J. and O. Munnich, *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco* (Vol. XVI, 2, Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis Editum, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999²). SH = ed. A. M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (Vol. 7, Mediolani: Typis et Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874). All sigla from the Göttingen edition are utilized except SH for "Syh". The Göttingen apparatuses are differentiated as App^I, App^{II}, and App^{θ'}. All versification follows P, with Greek differentiations in parentheses.

L-311 584 Arm^p: ܠܚܬ ܕܡܪ ܠܡܢ P: ἰδης θ' (ειδης 861): θελης ουτω 88 ܐܬܐ ܠܡܢ
SH • 1:14 ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ: αυτων εις το ρημα L'' Aeth^p Tht. {Luc.} αυτων του λογου 62':
αυτοις τον τροπον OG ܠܡܢ ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ SH: αυτων θ' (-τω 670 -του Tht.^p -τον Chr.
-τοις 230 = OG): ܠܡܢ ܠܡܢ P | ܠܡܢ: cf. ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ SH {Style} ܐܬܐ P •

JDan's Syriac has been **blocked** to highlight where Jacob differed from P his base text. This is, admittedly, an inelegant system but effective. Similarly, the provisional (rather wooden) translation has also been marked in **bold** to show where Jacob diverged from P (whether JDan = Gk. or JDan = unique) and in **bold underline** to note where he followed OG specifically, whether 88-SH or otherwise. (Translations in italics indicate possible or proposed variants not presently attested in either extant manuscript tradition; **bold italics** are proposed as belonging to the Theodotianic tradition, with **bold underline italics** similarly proposed for the OG tradition.) The preliminary apparatus is specifically source-critical. Those JDan readings differing from P are provided, after which his presumed source is supplied on the left side of the angled bracket]. To the right of the bracket, those Greek and Syriac sources which ostensibly could have been available to Jacob are provided (separated by a colon: in the fashion of Brooke-McLean and the Leiden editions), with those textually nearer his reading listed more closely. Note that here abbreviated evaluations are given in curled brackets, e.g., {Theod.} means that Jacob followed Theodotion.

These two verses ably show just how composite Jacob's editing was, and how he sought to integrate various and diverse Greek traditions simultaneously. Here, Jacob used both OG (even translating differently from SH: διατετραμμενη παρα 88 SH [ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ]) and θ'. The OG/SH witness was carefully added, being slightly adjusted to Jacob's textual mesh (e.g., η οψις ημων [nom.] → ܠܡܢ [acc.]). Moreover, the θ' witness includes a distinctively Luc. reading (εις το ρημα L'' Aeth^p Tht.). JDan here may even preserve a variant present at one time in the θ' tradition (i.e., παιδαριων παντων των εσθοντων) since θ's Greek better facilitates what had presumably been added to θ' MSS previous to Jacob's period.¹⁶ Whatever the case, these two verses certainly show just how amalgamated JDan's text is, given Jacob actively used multiple, differing Greek witnesses—transmitting different recensions—through the course of his editorial process.

¹⁶ Or had this dropped out of the tradition via haplography? For discussion regarding Jacob's testimony to proposed Greek variants, see below. It is also possible that v. 13 testifies to a lost OG variant, depending on whether one interprets ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ as derived from Jacob's transmutation of φανη OG ܠܡܢ ܐܬܐ SH from v. 13a (to which he then added ܐܬܐ) or as attesting to a proposed variant to the OG textual tradition φανη σοι, which an earlier scribe had produced when levelling v 13's verbal expressions.

[illegible]

For the present purposes, it is important to observe Jacob's having made reference to the "Greek *books* of Daniel" in the plural. For as the textual situation in 4:10(13) implies, his remark could only have been referring

¹⁸ See *Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: Homélies LVIII à LXIX* (edited and translated by Maurice Brière, *PO* 37 [8.2]. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912, 327). Vat. Syr. 141 has the Greek word below the scholion (fol. 83a, bottom mg; online: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.sir.141).

¹⁹ Present translation mine. This explanation, something which floated around in Late Christian Antiquity, is found as a scholion in the sources which Nobilius used in the Latin Sixtine at Dan 4:10 (quoted in F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, Oxford: OUP, 1875, 2.904, n. † and 918, n. 12). Jerome also gave this explanation with reference to the Aramaic (*Comm. in Dan.* ad loc; Latin quoted in Field 2.918, n. 12). Theodoret also mentioned this, though without any such reference to the source language (*Comm. in Dan.* ad loc). Interestingly, MS 88's θ' text is entitled to εἰρ ἀγρυπνον * Δανιηλ * (see Ziegler and Munnich, *Daniel*, 21). The Vatican has digitized 88's microfilm, and it can be viewed here: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.R.VII.45 (see slide 202). Further attestation to this information can be found in Ziegler and Munnich, *Daniel*, App^{II} ad loc.

	JDan ^{txt}	JDan ^{mg}
1:3	ܠܚܝܬܐ (: ܠܚܝܬܐ P) ²¹	πορθομιν cf. πορθομ(ε)ιν A L ⁻³⁶ 130 239 380 407 Polychr. Tht. ^p ²²
4:16	ܡܠܬܐ = P	ܡܠܬܐ = κατασπευσάτωσαν σε 311 (?) ²³
7:21	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ(ܐ) ≈ P ²⁴	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ(ܐ) = ισχυσε προς αυτους θ'
5:28	ܠܚܝܬܐ (! :: ܠܚܝܬܐ P) ²⁵	ܠܚܝܬܐ = διηρηται (διηρεθη Chr. Tht.) θ'
11:24	ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܚܝܬܐ (= OG SH) ²⁶	ܠܚܝܬܐ = Αιγυπτου θ'

Table 1: θ' in JDan^{mg}

Each of these listed here is rather straightforward, and they vary in textual character from those proffering slightly differing (i.e., ܡܠܬܐ :: ܡܠܬܐ), basically synonymous variants (i.e., ܠܚܝܬܐ :: ܠܚܝܬܐ) to those meant to serve as complementary readings (ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܚܝܬܐ :: ܠܚܝܬܐ; i.e., the “fortified city” is in “Egypt”). Most likely, his marginal readings were meant to provide the reader with equally valid exegetical options as opposed to indicating preference, something which Jacob’s *Scholion on the Trees in Susanna* certainly supports.²⁷

²¹ On P’s reading, which Jacob adjusts ever so slightly based upon his θ’ MSS, though with far reaching consequences, see M. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (CUP: 2005), 251, n. 120.

²² It is possible a scribe at some point wrongly transcribed the common form with doubled μ (i.e., -μμ(ε)ιν), but determining which scribe did this is impossible. As it stands, the Greek written in the JDan margin has antecedents in other MSS and is thus not interpreted here as an error. The majority θ’ tradition’s πορ-, however, is not an option. Based on A. Hjelt’s 1892 study of Jacob’s *Hexaemeron*, Jacob transcribed both π and φ when representing Greek words (typically proper names) with Syriac ܡ. Therefore, a later scribe could not possibly have guessed which Greek tradition Jacob’s Syriac was meant to represent. This, coupled with the fact that the form with πορ- belongs to the minority tradition most likely indicates that the Greek had to have come from Jacob’s autograph. (Hjelt also noted that Jacob’s transcriptions did not attempt to represent doubled Greek consonants.) For further analysis of this and other similar circumstances, see the prolegomena to the edition.

²³ It is quite probable that Jacob altered the common θ’ reading κατασπευσάτω σε to match P’s 3rd pl. verbal inflection. This kind of editorial technique is common in Jacob’s recension. Nevertheless, 311’s reading should be registered, especially as it is a Luc. MS.

²⁴ Unfortunately, the index marker is missing in the MS. This placement is proposed based on the reading itself, which is set in the margin a few lines lower than it ought to be.

²⁵ Here JDan^{txt} represents one of the very few “exegetical” readings which can be identified in JDan given that it a) does not equate any known source, b) is a synonymous rendering, and c) most importantly is mentioned in Jacob’s own scholion provided in the MS. Jacob’s bears hint of violence the others’ might lack. For analysis of his reading and the scholion, see the edition.

²⁶ Compare the other available options: ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܚܝܬܐ SH^{mg} (Aquila: “their fortresses”): ܠܚܝܬܐ P (“their fortified places” or “walled cities”).

²⁷ The nature and function of Jacob’s marginal “apparatus” will be discussed in full in the forthcoming edition. In JSus, he opted to put the Greek versions’ trees (ܡܠܬܐ “mastic”

EXAMPLES OF PROPOSED THEODOTON VARIANTS

While JDan's attestation of θ' can for the most part be traced to witnesses found in the collations documented in the Ziegler-Munnich edition, there are not infrequently cases where Jacob probably attests Greek readings which have no longer survived (see, e.g., those in JDan 1:13 mentioned above). Before offering a few examples of these proposed θ' variants, a few supporting observations should be registered regarding both the θ' MS tradition in general and the nature of Jacob's witness and method in particular.²⁸

First, several aspects of the θ' MS tradition support using JDan as a source of potential Greek variants. 1) While the bulk of MSS come from the second millennium, Jacob's witness cannot postdate 705 CE. As such, his is materially an early witness, relative to the vast majority of extant Greek MSS. 2) Surviving first millennium Greek MSS exhibit unique variants rather regularly. Note, for instance, codex V (8th cent. CE) at Dan 1:1, which reads, against all other witness, $\epsilon\pi\iota$ Ιερουσαλημ . Jacob too reads ܐܠܝܐܨܐ ܕܝܪܥܝܐ , against all others: (ܝܠܕܝܐ) ܦܝܨ (Ιερ.) θ' OG SH. The point is not that Jacob used V, but that both V and JDan attest to the same Greek reading $\epsilon\pi\iota$. Examples such as this suggest it is safe to interpret JDan like any other first millennium Greek witness, possibly transmitting unique readings not found (or infrequently found) in the later second millennium MSS. 3) Based on the Ziegler-Munnich apparatuses, daughter versions and patristic quotations—again as first millennium sources—from time to time attest unique or rarely attested readings. JDan from time to time confirms some of these readings suggesting a real Greek source lay behind them. For example, the very beginning of

and ܐܠܝܐܨܐ "oak") in his running text, with those from P (ܐܠܝܐܨܐ "pistachio" and ܠܝܬܝܐ "pomegranate") added to the margins. Yet in his scholion, appended to the end of the text (fol. 148a-b), Jacob pointed out that the Greek versions' trees did not exist in Babylon and that the translators selected them purely for paronomasia. The trees from the Syriac version, he noted, however, "much better suit those which would have been planted [in Babylon]". In other words, Jacob adopted historically incorrect trees for his running text based on the literary authority of a pun the Greek translators employed which does not translate into Syriac. It would thus make no sense to interpret Jacob's adding P's trees to the margins as indicating they were of lesser value. Other textual notes found in Jacob's recension strongly support the hypothesis that his marginal readings were meant to be treated as equal options to his running text, unless he explicitly stated otherwise. For a recent overview of the exegetical marginalia in JRec, see Salvesen's "Scholarship on the Margins: Biblical and Secular Learning in the Work of Jacob of Edessa," in *Syriac Encounters: Papers from the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium, Duke University, 26-29 June 2011* (ed. K. Smith, E. Fiano, and M. Doerfler, Eastern Christian Studies 20, Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 327-344.

²⁸ A more complete discussion of Jacob's method vis-à-vis proposed Greek (and Syriac) variants will be provided in the prolegomena to the edition. The present is offered here only as an outline. Note also the similar discussion (with some overlap) in my "'Darius son of Ahasuerus, King of the Persians'", 82-84.

was generally very popular in Western Syriac/Antiochene circles. However, Severus was not scripture. The notion that he would have undertaken his revision of an earlier translation of this patriarch's works with such care but not also have done so in his revision of the biblical text is very dubious indeed. While this example of Jacob's carefulness cannot be extended to each and every reading in his revised biblical text, it is symptomatic of the general caution he employed when dealing with his textual sources. 4) In addition to his methodology and the care with which he treated his sources, we also know Jacob's views of both the Peshitta's and LXX's origins. With respect to P, Jacob adhered to the position that posited the Apostles themselves were responsible for its production. It was thus then "Apostolic" in the sense that it bore an inherent authority born of its direct connection to Jesus.³² As for the LXX, Jacob expressed his belief in the *Aristeas Legend*, reiterating that 72 Hebrew Sages produced the text during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.³³ These views may in part go towards explaining why he would use these two versions in constructing his revision—both had an inherent authority for the Syriac Orthodox, and thus the one could be used to "correct" the other.³⁴ However, it is difficult to see a place in this process where Jacob might justify his own *ad hoc* intrusion into the text, at least for more than a (non-substantial) word or two. 5) Lastly, using Jacob's revision to suggest heretofore unknown Greek variants is supported by the analysis of previous scholarship. Saley's view is much the same (in that he believes these came from a source), though he admittedly approached the matter with great caution and restraint, perhaps in part due to the lack of a Göttingen

³² For the testimonia, see M. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 248.

³³ See his lengthy scholion in the middle of Homily 123 in *Les Homiliae cathedrales*, PO 138 [29.1], 190-207, at 198-99. I know of nothing that would suggest Jacob held to the Philonic/Epiphianian version of the account in which the Seventy[-two] were divinely inspired. I would like to thank Alison Salvesen for sharing her preliminary English translation of this important scholion which will be published in her forthcoming work on Jacob of Edessa.

³⁴ As Prof. Salvesen has noted in several of our many conversations about Jacob, his use of LXX to resolve exegetical problems in scripture certainly displays the same mentality. Note, for instance, Jacob's utility of LXX in reply to the notion that the Eliezer of Gen 15 was really Ishmael. (For the scholion, see G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa*. Williams and Norgate, 1864, 7-10 [translation] and ٥-٦ [text].) In response, Jacob cited multiple LXX MSS (ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) which indicated that Eliezer's mother was not Hagar but Masek. Thus, Ishmael cannot be the Eliezer of Gen 15, and he adhered to this exegetical option in his own version reading at JGen 15:2 (BnF Syr. 26, fol. 28a):

[illegible]

“[...] And the son of Masek, begotten of my house, this Eliezer the Damascene, he is inheriting me!”

ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ "The Kingdom of the Romans". Yet, contrary to the suggestion that Jacob added this subtle connection between Rome and the Antichrist in Rev 13, it should be observed that Rev was, and indeed still is, *not* canonical for the Syriac Orthodox.³⁷ Thus, the idea that Jacob altered his text in support of a Rome-Antichrist connection is fallacious since his own co-religionists would not have generally understood (or agreed with) it. On the other hand, a Greek scribe, accepting the full canonical authority of Rev, could very well have added this echo from Rev, purposefully or otherwise, based on the readings which he (and his readers) would have encountered with some regularity. If the addition was intentional, a Greek scribe could expect his audience to understand the connection. Therefore, a Greek would have had both the exegetical and textual motivation to insert this echo, whereas Jacob would not have had either with respect to his own community for whom his Syriac text was created. As to this variant's lack in the remainder of the Greek tradition, one need only posit that the reading was not overly common and also observe the possibility of a common haplography, via ε/ο graphic confusion:

ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΑΝΕΒΑΙΝΕΝ ΦΟΒΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΘΑΜΒΟΝ →
 ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΦΟΒΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΘΑΜΒΟΝ
 via -ΕΝ ∩ -ΟΝ.³⁸

JDan 12:4 (fol. 133b)

ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ [...] ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ

... and many **will teach**, and knowledge will increase.

[...] | ܡܠܟܘܬܐ: prp. θ' var. και διδασκωσι(v) or διδασκουσι(v) (cp. added conjunction in 8a1^c 12d1.2 88^{ff}) εως (και 88^{ff} + αν Q^c + ου 410) διδασκωσι θ' (-χωσιν 534): εως δει-
 χθωσι II: ܡܠܟܘܬܐ P (-ܐ 7a1 -ܐ 8a1^c 12d1.2): εως sanctificentur Arm^p: εως αν απομανωσιν
 (οι πολλοι) OG ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ SH •

This is a reading which caused much confusion in the MS tradition as the Göttingen apparatuses well show. The possible options for the verb in question include: 1) "they shall be taught" θ^{maj.}; 2) "they shall be informed/shown(?)" Luc. subgroup I; 3) "they will be sanctified" Arm^p; and "they shall go crazy" OG SH. Compare also P which reads "they shall seek".

³⁷ For a recent survey of Rev in Syriac (with an important survey of the MS evidence), see D. Taylor, "L'Apocalypse de Jean en Syriac: Des Origines à Diamper", in *Le Nouveau Testament en syriaque*, J.-C. Haelewyck (éd.) (Études syriaques 14, Paris, 2017), 27-53.

³⁸ Compare the somewhat similar omission of και ισχυρον by Hippol.^A (twice) and Tht. in this verse through the same mechanism: και -ον ∩ και -ον.

JDan's is clearly related to the first, probably through a graphic error of some kind ($\Delta\iota\Delta\alpha\chi\theta\omega\varsigma\iota :: \Delta\iota\Delta\alpha\zeta\omega\varsigma\iota / \Delta\iota\Delta\alpha\zeta\omicron\gamma\varsigma\iota$). JDan's does not really make any more sense than the remainder of the θ' tradition, nor does it make explicit what is implicit. Note that at least one MS (534) omitted the *theta*; perhaps such a mistake facilitated the misreading by a previous scribe (or even Jacob) due to χ/ζ confusion. As it stands, a variant θ' reading is quite probable.

JACOB'S ATTESTATION TO LUCIANIC DANIEL

Following Saley's analysis of the Luc. influence in JSam, it seems hardly necessary to posit many proofs for the same in JDan. Nevertheless, a few short examples further solidify the point. Before listing these, it is worth briefly outlining the Luc. presence in JDan in general. Based on the preliminary collations, Jacob's use of Luc. is evident throughout and can be particularly connected with variants attested in Ziegler's groups *L''* (= *L* + *II* + *III*), *L'* (*L* + *III*), *III*, and *L*. Exclusive affiliation with *II* (311-538) is uncommon. Further, JDan at times uniquely agrees with isolated readings found in early Luc. witnesses, namely Arm, Tht., and Chr. (either individually or in various groupings). This being said, it is also worth mention that Jacob did not, intentionally it would seem, incorporate every unique or interesting Luc. reading.³⁹ As a result, the Luc. situation in JDan agrees with Saley's analysis for JSam, as he found Jacob's adoption of Luc. inconsistent, incomplete, and done in concert with non-Luc. sources (hexaplaric, etc.).⁴⁰

JDan 2:16 (fol. 98a)

ⲕⲓⲉⲛⲁ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ
ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ

And Daniel **went in and persuaded Arioch that** he might grant him time, (after which) he might make known to the king the interpretation **of the dream**.

ⲛⲓⲛⲁ: (⌘ V 449) ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲗⲑⲉ(ⲧ) ⲑ' (pr ⲛⲓⲛⲁ A Polychr. [om. ⲕⲁⲓ]) ⲧⲁⲭⲉⲱⲥ ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲗⲑⲉ OG ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲗⲑⲉ ⲧⲁⲭⲉⲱⲥ 88 ⲛⲓⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲁ SH: ⲉⲭⲉⲗⲑⲉ Chr.: > PB-26 Q-541 Aeth^p Hippol. (vid.) |

³⁹ For example, JDan 9.24 reads "... and upon the holy city..." agreeing with θ' ^{maj} as opposed to Luc. MSS reading "your holy city" (cp. P's "city of *your* holiness"). A representative list of disagreements (or "rejections") with Luc. will be provided in the forthcoming edition's prolegomena.

⁴⁰ Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 119.

ܡܥܪܐ: και ηξίωσε θ' (om. και B-26 Q-541 Aeth^p Hippol. [vid.] Bo)] και ηξίωσε pr ܡܥܪܐ
OG SH: ܡܥܪܐ P | ܡܥܪܐ: τον αριθμ L-311 233'] τον βασ. θ' OG SH: ܡܥܪܐ P απο
(παρα O) του βασ. Aⁿ O Bo: αυτον Hippol.: > C' 46' 230 380 407 670 Aeth | ܡܥܪܐ: οπως
θ' ινα OG SH (-α) > P | ܡܥܪܐ: του ενυπνιου L' Bo Aeth^p Chr.] αυτου θ'^{maj}: παντα OG
ܡܥܪܐ SH: > P Q^{txt} 88^o 239 •

Here Jacob's utilization of Luc. is obvious since it changes the staging of the narrative. In particular, the one from whom Daniel requests additional time (i.e., *Arioch*) and the description of that which he claims he will reveal (i.e., the interpretation of *the dream*) are rather different in the various witnesses. For these, Jacob adopted the Luc. options.

JDan 8:2 (fol. 117a-b)

ܡܥܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ [...]

... And I saw, in **the vision**, that I was standing upon (or: by) the **Oub³loulā**.

[...] | ܡܥܪܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ: του ουβαλουλα L'-38-88^o 46* (βαλουλα 538)] ܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ P α'
(*super*) ubal vlai Jerome: του ουβαλ θ' (οβαλ 541 βαλ 239 ουαλ Bo): σ' (*super*) paludem
vlai Jerome: (προς τη πυλη) ολαμ OG αιλαμ 88 ܡܥܪܐ(α) SH, cf. LXX (*iuxta* Hi.^{1c} *super*
Hi.^{ap}) portam ulai Jerome (τινες των ερμηνευτων· παρα την πυλην Tht.), cf. οι αλλοι ερμη-
νευται· επι του ουλαιδ (leg. ουλαι) τουτεστι πυλην επι γεφυραν του ποταμου κειμενην
Eudoxius •

Throughout ch. 8 (vv. 1, 3, 6 [there ܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ *mend* in MS], and 16), Jacob adopts the Luc. place name for the location where Daniel's vision occurs. It is most probable that he felt P had suffered some kind of corruption, and thus adjusted it (i.e., ܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ P → ܡܥܪܐ ܕܡܥܪܐ *JDan*). It is interesting to observe that no accompanying explanation of the place name (cp. Eudoxius) is provided in the MS nor is any such scholion found in the other known sources of his exegesis. His propensity to use Greek sources to "fix" (or completely replace) unusual or infrequently occurring proper names (both personal and geographic) is well established as studies by Alison Salvesen on JSam confirm.⁴¹ Compare the same phenomena in *JDan* 1:11 and 16 discussed below.

⁴¹ For a listing of those in JSam, see the *editio princeps* by Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), xxvi–xli (Excursus II), along with her comments. See also Salvesen, "Jacob of Edessa's Version", 140–141. Also relevant is my "Jacob of Edessa's Greek Manuscripts: The case from his revision of the book of Numbers", *JSCS* (2011) 44: 5–25.

JDan 11:38 (fol. 132a)

[...] .יְהוָה יִשְׁחַדּוּ מַלְאָכָיו בְּרִצְוֵי מְּמָלְכָא

And he will **praise and** honor the god **of** (the?)⁴² מ'ZWY'M in its (or: his?) place...

בְּרִצְוֵי מְּמָלְכָא: μαζωειμ *L*⁵¹ (36*)-88^θ Hippol. (vid.) Tht. (ed. prior)] μαζωειμ 36^c-51 46 Tht. (= III664): μαωζ(ε)ιν *θ'*: *moazim* La^{CS} εβρ' *moazim* Jerome: μωεζιν 62 μωζειν 541: μαωζει A: μαζουριμ Tht. (IV 528): μαωδειν 26: μωαδιν Bo: αωζειν 130: ~~μαωζ~~ *P fortē* Aeth Arab Arm ισχυρον OG^{Mu}: <α' κραταιωματος 233 α' *fortitudinum* Jerome: > 967 88 SH: ονομαση 584 | [...]

Chapter 11, unfortunately, is just as confusing and complex in *JDan* as it is in every other textual tradition. Jacob incorporated elements from OG/SH, Luc., and *θ'*, in addition to readings which are difficult to connect with any textual tradition. In v. 38, however, again he adopted a distinctively Luc. reading describing the foreign god glorified during the Maccabean troubles.⁴³ What is distinct, however, about his reading is that it differs from the typically Theodotionic form (where the *omega* is before the *zeta*) known to both Theodore (d. ca. 460 CE) and Polychronius (d. ca. 430 CE)—both Antiochene exegetes. Further still, Jacob appears to have either been unaware of or disagreed with both Fathers' interpretations of what the name means, which essentially follow the joint interpretation of P and OG^{Mu}. (LXX apud Jerome), namely 'strong (and powerful) god'.⁴⁴ Had Jacob known or upheld this, then it would have been natural to retain P in some fashion, be it as a marginal reading or in a scholion.

EXAMPLES OF PROPOSED LUCIANIC VARIANTS

Beyond those Luc. readings in *JDan* which can be directly connected to extant Greek witnesses, there are also some which very probably represent variants from the Luc. tradition, the Greek of which has not survived.

⁴² Did Jacob interpret מ'ZWY'M as a place or people group?

⁴³ A rather long scholion in the *JDan* MS (ind at 11:20) makes it clear that Jacob believed ch. 11 described the Maccabean crisis (as opposed to some kind of Antichrist prophecy, cp. Jerome's *Comm in Dan*, ad loc). For which, see the edition.

⁴⁴ See App^{θ'}: «θεὸν ισχυρὸν καὶ δυνατὸν (τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ Μαωζειμ)» Tht. et «ἀντὶ τοῦ θεὸν ισχυρὸν ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσει» Tht. III 664 (sim. IV 528) et «μαωζειν ισχυρὸν σημαίνει» Polychr.

much sense unless one interprets it metaphorically, i.e., an inundation of troops. JDan takes a different tack, apparently based on καταλυσσει instead of the κατακλυσσει which the extant Luc. tradition preserves.⁴⁷ The Greek καταλυσσις has a secondary meaning referring to lodgings in general (= κατάλυμα) or billets for soldiers (i.e., civilian lodgings requisitioned for housing troops).⁴⁸ In this sense Jacob's selection of ܠܝܝܬܐ is appropriate as the Syriac can also refer to either civilian or military lodgings. Naturally, the question ought to be asked whether κατακλυσσει had been misread by Jacob, or whether he believed the Greek before him was incorrect given the context and so ignored the *kappa*.⁴⁹ This question cannot be answered with certainty. However, given that he arguably attests to Luc. variants elsewhere and that the reading is obscure, it seems hardly necessary to insist he modified his exemplar(s) as opposed to anyone else. In fact, given the reading, one would expect him to check more than one MS in his case, just to make sure his reading was sound. As it stands, JDan can be interpreted as providing a Luc. variant, though the precise form of this variant (καταλυσσει or καταλυμασι) is unclear.

JDan 11:45^{mg} (fol. 133a)

[...] ܕܡܝܢ : ܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܡܝܢ
ܠܥܝܬܐ JDan^{xt}] ܠܥܝܬܐ JDan^{mg}

And he will set up his camp in the clear (or: wide open)⁵⁰ place [mg: (in) 'P'D'NWN], between ...

[...] | ܠܥܝܬܐ(ܐ) JDan^{mg}: prp. Luc. var. (εν?)⁵¹ α/εφ/παδα/ενω/ον] (in) εφιδων (vel εφιδων) Arm: αφαδανω Polychr. (εν) εφιδανω 51^c (εν) απαδανω (αποδ. 231) L-88 Tht. εφιδανω θ' *apedno* (or *epadno*; in *aphedano* ^{ap}) sub θ' Jerome: α' *Apedno* (in αφαδανω ^{ap}) Jerome εν φαδανω 106 541 Bo: εν φανδανω A: (*super*) αδαν Sa: εμφανως 584: in *loco pulchro* Aeth Arab: σ' του ιπποστασιου αυτου Jerome: > OG-SH (τοτε ܠܡܝܢ pro loc.) Vict. (read diff) | ܕܡܝܢ: 7a1 SH] ܕܡܝܢ P | [...]

Yet another proper name in JDan 11 would appear to confirm that Jacob's Luc. source(s) did not always agree with those represented in the Göttingen

⁴⁷ Ziegler lists this as an example of the characteristic doublets in the Luc. tradition (*Daniel*, 148).

⁴⁸ See *LSJ*, s.v., II, 3 and sub κατάλυμα.

⁴⁹ Or did his MS(s) read εν τοις καταλυμασι?

⁵⁰ The Syriac "Masora" tradition vocalizes ܠܥܝܬܐ, the sg. pass. ptc. meaning "serene, bare, cleared". Ziegler's "*in loco pulchro* Aeth Arab = Pesch." in App⁶ is then potentially misleading. R. Taylor's rendering of P "in a smooth place" is better. See Taylor, *The Peshitta of Daniel* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 285.

⁵¹ Jacob's anchoring the reading to ܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ makes it difficult to know if εν was in his exemplar(s).

apparatus. Important here is the form in Arm which, it is now known, was based on Luc. sources.⁵² Only JDan and Arm agree that the place name in question ends with *nu*, probably –νῦν given the wider Greek tradition. This is not the only occurrence of JDan agreeing (even if partially as here) with an individual Luc. witness. In isolation, such cases would prove nothing. However, within the context of Jacob's previously recognized preference for Luc. Greek, there is no reason to treat cases such as this with undue minimalistic fervor resulting in the rejection of JDan's witness to Luc. variants.

CONCLUSION

While Jacob of Edessa's revision is complex and based on an assortment of textual sources, careful consideration of the sometime bishop's text can prove fruitful. As was shown above, Jacob used multiple copies of Greek Daniel in the course of his revision, including not only more than one OG MS but multiple copies of θ' as well. Concerning the latter, the multiplicity of his sources can be extended to include more than one recension of the Theodotionic version, specifically the Lucianic/Antiochene text. Furthermore, careful analysis of Jacob's textual witness shows that his Greek MSS transmitted readings which are no longer represented in those extant today. As such, JDan can be used to supply additional Greek variants to modern collations, further illuminating the historical transmission—and at times interpretation—of the Greek versions of Daniel.

BRADLEY J. MARSH, JR.
Faculty of Oriental Studies
University of Oxford
United Kingdom
bradley.marshjr@orinst.ox.ac.uk

⁵² See P. Cowe's recent work ("18.4.5 Armenian Translations", *THB* 1C.586-89, esp. 587).

Dissertation Abstract

Creation and Salvation. Models of Relationship between the God of Israel and the Nations in the Book of Jonah, in Psalm 33 (MT and LXX) and in the Novel *Joseph and Aseneth*

Author: Daniela Scialabba; *Institution:* University of Strasbourg, Faculty of Catholic Theology; *Supervisor:* Prof. Eberhard Bons; *Jury:* Prof. Daniel Gerber, University of Strasbourg; Prof. Hermann Spieckermann, University of Göttingen; Prof. Martin Karrer, Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel; Prof. Maria Armida Nicolaci, Faculty of Theology, Palermo.

Date of Doctoral Defence: 30 November 2017

The starting point of this study is the current debate on monotheism and religious pluralism. In recent decades, this debate has been strongly influenced by authors such as Jan Assmann, for whom the monotheism originating in the Old Testament is the root of the intolerance and violence of the three monotheistic religions. Rather than participating in this debate, this study examines inclusive tendencies in Old Testament monotheism by investigating the theological principles motivating and supporting the possibility for individuals and peoples to approach the God of Israel. The analysis focuses on three texts that explore the relationship between YHWH, Israel and non-Israelites: the Book of Jonah, Psalm 33 (MT and LXX) and the novel *Joseph and Aseneth*. Although these three texts differ with respect to genre, period and provenance, they have in common an interest in the relationship between the God of Israel and non-Israelites as well as share a conception of God as the universal creator who has pity on all creatures.

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DANIELA SCIALABBA
Université de Strasbourg
ANR-DEG Project
Faculté de Théologie Catholique
Strasbourg, France
danielascialabba.htls@gmail.com

Dissertation Abstract

Der ursprüngliche Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Rezensionen. Eine Untersuchung anhand der Septuaginta-Psalmen 2; 8; 33; 49 und 103

Author: Jonathan Hong; *Institution:* Kirchliche Hochschule/Protestant University Wuppertal-Bethel; *Supervisor:* Prof. Dr. Siegfried Kreuzer. The study has grown out of a research project sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

Date of acceptance by the doctoral committee: July 2018

The Greek translation of the Book of Psalms most probably originated in the 2nd cent. BCE in Alexandria. As the most-used biblical book in the Greek speaking Jewish diaspora and in early Christianity, it is attested by the largest number of manuscripts, among them a good number written before the 6th cent. CE. The most recent critical editions of Psalms are those by Alfred Rahlfs from 1931 and 1935. Since then, however, a number of important early manuscripts have been discovered and published; in addition, perspectives on text-critical decisions have developed and changed in significant ways. In this exemplary study of five different psalms, all relevant manuscripts, esp. all known early manuscripts originating until the 5th cent. CE, are taken into account, and new approaches in text-critical research are given full consideration. In the process, new methodical criteria for text-critical judgments are developed and new insights on the textual history of the Psalms brought forward.

The thesis was published in 2019 as volume 224 in the series “Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament” (Kohlhammer).

JONATHAN HONG
Kirchliche Hochschule/Protestant University
Wuppertal-Bethel
Wuppertal/Germany
jonathan.hong@kiho-wuppertal-bethel.de

Book Reviews

BONS, Eberhard / POUCHELLE, Patrick (ed.), *The Psalms of Solomon. Language, History, Theology* (EJIL 40), Atlanta: SBL Press 2015, XI + 227 S., kart., ISBN 978-1-62837-042-3

Mit den Psalmen Salomos liegt ein wichtiges Corpus von 18 psalmartigen Texten aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. vor, die einen Einblick in eine bestimmte Strömung des Frühen Judentums bieten. Ihrer Erforschung sind die neun Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes gewidmet, die auf das „First International Meeting on the Psalms of Solomon“ in Strasbourg, Frankreich, im Juni 2013 zurückgehen. Sie folgen dem in der Einführung von den Herausgebern formulierten Ziel: „to take a fresh look at established views and to develop perspectives for future research“ (1).

Benedikt Eckhardt diskutiert kritisch die Bedeutung der PsSal als historischer Quelle für die späte Hasmonäerzeit. Er möchte zeigen, „that the value of the Psalms of Solomon as a historical source is still severely overrated, and that in large parts of (especially German) scholarship, the historical arguments supported by them have not actually changed since the days of Julius Wellhausen and Eduard Meyer“ (9). Als einzelne Quelle können sie nicht die Beweislast für angeblich allgemein verbreitete jüdische Einstellungen tragen; dies betrifft die Annahmen einer Verurteilung der Hasmonäerherrschaft und eines „theokratischen“ Ideals im jüdischen Volk ebenso wie die (latent abwertende) Bezeichnung einer jüdischen Mehrheit als „die Frommen“. Die Frage nach der historischen Bedeutung, die den PsSal in der gegenwärtigen Forschung tatsächlich eignen *kann*, erörtert Eckhardt jedoch nicht.

Jan Joosten stellt die dominierende Forschungsmeinung, die PsSal seien ursprünglich auf Hebräisch verfasst worden, in Frage und votiert für ein griechisches Original. Er belegt seine Position mit Schriftanspielungen in den PsSal, die plausibler als direkte Rezeption von LXX-Texten, die neue Akzente gegenüber ihrer hebräischen Vorlage setzen, denn als Rückgriff auf den hebräischen Text zu erklären seien. Zudem lassen die PsSal Eigentümlichkeiten der griechischen Grammatik gegenüber der hebräischen und eine Imitation des LXX-Stils erkennen. Überlegungen zum historischen Setting weisen auf eine Verbindung zur jüdischen Diaspora: „the prominence of the diaspora theme in the Psalms of Solomon raises at least the possibility of a connection to a Greek-speaking milieu“ (44). Joosten kann dies in ein Interesse an der LXX und ihrer Revision in Palästina und speziell Jerusalem im 1. Jh. v./n.Chr. einordnen. Trotzdem bleibt die Motivation, dort griechischsprachige Psalmtexte zu verfassen, rätselhaft und fordert zu neuen historischen Überlegungen heraus.

Auch Eberhard Bons nimmt eine Abfassung zumindest von Teilen der PsSal in griechischer Sprache an. Er zeigt dies an einem Fallbeispiel, dem Syntagma ἐκλογὴ καὶ ἐξουσία in PsSal 9,4, das sowohl sprachlich als auch im Motiv des freien Willens des Menschen seine engste Parallele in der stoischen Philosophie finde. Was für den Einzelfall zutrifft, müsste jedoch für die Gesamtkonzeption der PsSal abgesichert werden.

Brad Embry stellt die übliche Gattungsbestimmung der PsSal als „Psalmen“ in Frage und ordnet sie stattdessen in die prophetische Tradition ein. Als Begründung dient ihm, dass die Sammlung „espouses a worldview and theo-philosophical orientation that resonates with that of biblical prophecy“ (59). Dafür führt er strukturelle Elemente an: das „motif of punishment-restoration“ und „that of God’s sovereignty“ (69), die Tradition der Erwählung Israels und die traditionsbasierte neue Adressierung einer historischen Situation. So verstehe der Autor seine Texte selbst als „biblischen“ Text, als „an extension of the prophetic corpora“ (76f.). Die Aussage, „that genre issues cannot be solved simply by reference to literary form“ (65), ist formgeschichtlich schwierig: Was, wenn nicht die literarische Form, begründet denn eine Gattung? M.E. wären Gattungsfrage und inhaltliche Charakteristika deutlicher zu trennen. Die wichtige Verbindung zur jüdischen Weisheitstradition diskutiert Embry nicht.

Kenneth Atkinson erörtert die Ablehnung der Jerusalemer Tempelpriesterschaft seitens der PsSal. Den Priestern am Tempel wird vorgeworfen, dass sie „through their defilement of the sanctuary, have rendered the sacrificial system ineffective“ (84). Ihre Vergehen bestehen in Ehebruch, Diebstahl von Tempelgut und Verunreinigung des Tempels (88), wobei Atkinson die sexuellen Verfehlungen hervorhebt (89f.). So kann der Tempel seine Funktion der Reinigung und Sündenvergebung nicht mehr erfüllen. Die Lösung dieses Problems erreichen die PsSal durch eine neue Interpretation der Schriften: Nun können die Frommen durch Fasten und Gebet, Sündenbekenntnis und Akzeptanz ihrer sozialen Leiden Sündenvergebung erlangen. Diese Form der Schriftauslegung vergleicht Atkinson mit den *Pesharim* aus Qumran. Er schließt aus dem Textbefund auf die Trägergruppe der PsSal, deren erste Generation selbst aus priesterlichen Kreisen stamme, aber vom Tempel ausgeschlossen wurde (85). Sexuelle Verfehlungen gehören jedoch zu den Stereotypen antiker Gegnerpolemik, so dass man hier mit historischen Rückschlüssen vorsichtig sein sollte. Interessant wäre die Frage nach den *kulturellen* Ursachen für die Verwerfung innerhalb der Priesterschaft. Entscheidend könnte hier eine unterschiedliche Einstellung gegenüber der neuen hellenistischen Kultur sein.

Sven Behnke bietet eine differenzierte Analyse der Metaphorik des „Schlafes“ in den PsSal. Das Bild des Schlafens wird durchgehend negativ verwendet und dient (1) der typologischen Gegenüberstellung des Frommen und des Sünders, (2) der Konzeptualisierung der Wachsamkeit gegenüber Gott und (3) der Charakterisierung von Gottferne und Todesnähe bzw. Hoffnung auf Auferstehung.

Patrick Pouchelle untersucht alle Vorkommen des Wortfeldes παιδεία in den PsSal und arbeitet das Konzept einer „Erziehung“ der Frommen durch Gott heraus. Es steht nicht das schwere Leiden der Betroffenen im Vordergrund, sondern dass „the divine discipline [...] functions to avoid the accumulation of sins“ (130). Dazu „the righteous does not need to suffer badly to examine his life and to change his behavior“ (131). Wichtig ist, dass der Gerechte die Erziehung als Zeichen der Erwählung durch Gott versteht.

Die (sozial)anthropologisch motivierten Ausführungen von Rodney Werline gehen der Frage der Gemeinschaftsbildung in den PsSal nach, genauer wie die PsSal durch die praktizierte Performanz der Texte Dispositionen bei den Mitgliedern der Gruppe wachrufen. Die wiederholte Deklaration von Gottes Gerechtigkeit etabliert diese als zentrale Überzeugung, und die Frommen werden nicht nur intellektuell, sondern auch emotional in das Leben eines Gerechten eingeübt: „practice produced the disposition out of which one lived the righteous life“ (154). Auch die Performanz von Segens- bzw. Fluchsprache dient diesem Ziel.

Joseph Trafton wendet sich den messianischen Erwartungen in PsSal 17 zu. Allerdings zeichnet sein auf englischsprachige Literatur verengter Forschungsüberblick ein zu einseitiges Bild der Vernachlässigung von PsSal 17 in der Diskussion um frühjüdische Messiasgestalten. Trafton stellt dar, wo PsSal 17 die in den hebräischen Schriften genannten Erwartungen an einen zukünftigen *davidischen* König bzw. allgemein an einen König aufgreift und wo er neue, unerwartete Motive einbringt. Trafton erklärt die Neuerungen mit der historischen Situation und „the anti-Hasmonean slant“ der PsSal (172). Die Auffälligkeit, dass der Messias mehrere Funktionen übernimmt, die in den hebräischen Schriften Gott selbst erfüllt, wertet Trafton jedoch nicht aus. Er endet mit vielen offenen Fragen.

Responses von Kenneth Atkinson zu den einzelnen Beiträgen schließen den Band ab. Sie bieten ergänzende, weiterführende und kritische Beobachtungen und markieren aktuelle Forschungsfelder.

Insgesamt wirft der Band aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven Licht auf die PsSal und stellt manche in der Forschung etablierte Annahme in Frage. Gerade darin ist er anregend, zeigt er doch das Potential, das die Erforschung dieser Texte für ein historisches und theologisches Verständnis des Judentums zur Zeit des Zweiten Tempels enthält.

STEFAN SCHREIBER

Lehrstuhl für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Katholisch-theologische Fakultät Universität Augsburg

Augsburg, Deutschland

stefan.schreiber@kthf.uni-augsburg.de

Carsten ZIEGERT, *Diaspora als Wüstenzeit. Übersetzungswissenschaftliche und theologische Aspekte des griechischen Numeribuches*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 480, Berlin: De Gruyter 2015. 340 pp; ISBN 978-3-11-042502-4.

Ziegert's volume originated as a "Promotionsprojekt" completed at the Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, under the direction of Dr. Stefan Schorch. His interest in this topic arose from translation work he was doing in the country of Chad. Ziegert argues that if progress is to be made in discerning the origins of the Septuagint translations, then scholars need to apply contemporary approaches to translation studies. He applied the principles and methods of *Skopos* translation theory (associated with Hans J. Vermeer and Katherine von Reiss) to discern the purpose for the translation of Greek Numbers. He works with the assumption that one translator is responsible for Greek Numbers and that this work was done in Alexandria in the early part of the third century B.C.E.

Ziegert recognizes the limitations of *Skopos* translation theory in cases where we have no direct access to the translator, such as ancient translations. He argues, however, that if researchers apply the method appropriately, it can provide new insights into understanding the translation's purpose. He identifies several limitations. First, we do not have direct access to the translated text as produced, but only an edited text. Second, the *Vorlage* used by the translator remains somewhat uncertain. Thirdly, and most significantly, explaining variations between the original

text involves many different decisions, a considerable number of which remain only possibilities, with a few being probabilities. Any conclusions about the translation's purpose abduced from these explanations themselves remain possibilities. His philosophical framework for interpreting his data and reaching conclusions is the logic of abduction.

He adopts the idea of text types that forms part of *Skopos* translation theory (57, section 2.2.2.). He uses the general categories of "informative Text" (one that is focused on transmitting content (*Darstellung*)), "expressive Text" (one that attends to artistic expression (*Ausdruck*)), and "operative Text" (one whose verbal effects stimulate responsive behaviour in the readers or listeners (*Appell*)). "Der informative Text soll Inhalte vermitteln, der expressive Text macht eine künstlerische Aussage und der operative Text will Verhaltensimpulse auslösen" (58). Ziegert categorizes different text units in Greek Numbers according to this taxonomy and argues that the translator adapts his translation of particular sections to achieve his communication goals for that section. However, he also notes that often in Numbers text types are mixed. He thinks it is worthwhile evaluating the degree to which the translator has preserved the literary form of the original and to what degree he might have altered it and for what reasons. In his view, this use of text type categories is more helpful in discerning the translator's approach and the translation's purpose than the categories of "literal" and "free." According to *Skopos* theory what is being determined is the "adequacy" of the translation to communicate to hearers or readers the sense of the original in order to achieve the intended purpose. In Table 11.1 (286) he summarizes his evaluation of the text types revealed in these eight passages.

Ziegert seeks to define theological tendencies revealed in the text as produced. These observed tendencies become important for defining the translation's purpose. He distinguishes between the theology expressed in the translation and the theology of the translator. This raises the question whether one can in fact distinguish in an ancient translated text theological tendencies attributable to the translation and those attributable to the translator.

Ziegert selects eight passages that represent different text types (1:20-47; 6:22-27; 10:33-36; 11:1-35; 15:1-41; 21:1-35; 24:3-9; 33:1-49). In each case he presents detailed commentary on differences between the original text and the text as produced, that in his view contribute to discerning the translation's *Skopos*. At the conclusion of each chapter he presents his conclusions about the text type, characterizes the "Äquivalenz" the translation shows with respect to the original text, and then evaluates what his investigation of this text may reveal about the translation's *Skopos*. In Table 11.2 (288) he categorizes the "Äquivalenz" that each of these passages demonstrates. In each case the translation shows itself to be "wortgetreu."

Space does not permit a detailed evaluation of the respective commentaries. Ziegert for the most part shows considerable skill in analyzing how the resultant translation relates to the assumed *Vorlage*. He recognizes that in some cases renderings in the Greek text may reveal an original text different from the Masoretic text and in other cases they may demonstrate the influence of the translator as he seeks to convey an interpretation of the original or accommodate his rendering to the conventions of Greek language or style. Generally, Ziegert characterizes the translator's work as faithful to his original text, but it does show adaptations because of the translator's need to produce a translation that shows "Adäquatheit" for communicating with a Greek-speaking, Jewish Diaspora audience in Alexandria.

In Table 11.3 (292) Ziegert summarizes the “Skopoi der untersuchten Abschnitte.” He concludes that the translator desires to communicate “exakt,” but also to render the text “verständlich” and “in die Lebenswelt der Leser hinein zu aktualisieren” (292). In his view the translator seeks to create intertextual coherence with other narratives in the Pentateuch, particularly those in Exodus. As well, the translation warns his audience in Alexandria not to repeat the mistakes of the desert generation revealed in Numbers. Ziegert concludes that this translation shows tension “in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen Historisierung und Aktualisierung, zwischen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit” (293). The translation generally reflects a “hebraisierende Stil” but it is not entirely free “von griechischem Stilempfinden” (293). Ziegert considers the “Sitz im Leben” of the translation to be synagogue life in Alexandria where instruction in the Law was occurring. The translation in Ziegert’s view addresses issues of Jewish identity and practical ethics generated by Diaspora life in Alexandria.

Generally, Ziegert analyzes competently and carefully the complex relationship between the translator’s original text and the text he produced. At times Ziegert’s desire to show intertextuality with Greek translations of Genesis or Exodus interferes with his consideration of other possible explanations for the translator’s choice of renderings. For example, Ziegert argues (250) that the translator’s choice of *παράδεισος* in Num 24:6 to render גֶּן is an intentional reference to Genesis 2 where this Greek term describes Eden. He concludes that the translator understands Balaam’s prophecy to imply that in the future Yahweh is going to make Israel a new creation. However, I think he perhaps overlooks the evidence from 3rd century B.C.E. papyri in which this term simply means garden, orchard. So is the translator intending an intertextual reference or just producing a good, contextualized rendering?

While Ziegert has sought to validate his findings by selecting varied types of text across the translation, his conclusions need to be tested by a thorough evaluation of the entire translation. We might ask whether the translator was aware of various Hebrew texts of Numbers existent in his day? If he had a choice of various Hebrew texts, does his selection of a particular Hebrew text in itself indicate one of the purposes for his translation, i.e., to champion one original text and its interpretations over against another? Also, it is unclear how consideration of changes to the Greek text as produced in subsequent reception history helps to discern the *Skopos* of the original translation. Another question relates to his reconstruction of the function synagogues had in early 3rd century B.C.E. Alexandria. Ziegert hypothesizes about such functions and then hypothesizes that the purpose of the translation supports the hypothetical functions of these synagogue “Sitz im Leben.” The absence of solid evidence about such synagogues in Alexandria and their function at that time gives a certain circularity to the argument that is difficult to control. Finally, does the application of *Skopos* translation theory enable us to speak more authoritatively and definitively about the translator’s purpose than previous inductive studies of this text made without recourse to *Skopos* theory?

Ziegert’s volume certainly advances our knowledge of the Greek translation of Numbers and the text he produced. All students of Greek Numbers will benefit from his investigative work.

LARRY PERKINS
Northwest Baptist Seminary/ACTS/TWU,
Langley, British Columbia, Canada
perkins@twu.ca

Texts and Contexts of the book of Sirach/Texte und Kontexte des Sirachbuchs, edited by Gerhard Karner, Frank Ueberschaer and Burkard M. Zapff, SCS 66, Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017; 978-0884142300.

This is a collection of the proceedings of a conference that took place 12-14 September 2014 at the Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. The aim of the congress was to determine the current situation of Sirach research with reference to three themes: 1. The socio-cultural and *geistesgeschichtlichen* background of the book of Sirach (BS); 2. The philological and text-historical problems associated with the different languages in which BS was transmitted; and, 3. Hermeneutical issues related to these texts.

There are 14 contributions by specialists on various topoi. The first essay is by *Markus Witte* from Berlin. His paper is entitled "Key Aspects and Themes in Recent Scholarship on the book of Ben Sira." He identifies five reasons for the current blossoming of scholarship on Ben Sira: first, the flourishing of Qumran and Septuagint scholarship; second, the relatively solid date of its putative Hebrew original version and its first Greek translation to 180 BCE and 120 BCE respectively, third, the insights on a methodological level derived from the new understanding between text criticism and compositional criticism, as well as from textual history and literary history in OT studies that has led scholars to view text variants as empirical literary-historical evidence for the redaction history of a book; fourth, current scholarship has become more interested in the Greco-Roman period which is the formative epoch for the history, culture and religion of Ancient Judaism and Christianity; fifth the religious confessions of scholars also played a role in this regard. Earlier (until the 1970s) deuterocanonical sources were studied exclusively by Roman-Catholic scholars. Witte subsequently sketched five subfields within BS scholarship. It is not his intention to offer a history of this scholarship, but rather to identify burning questions, to provide a selection of studies that made a difference and to formulate pressing challenges. 1. Text- the fact that BS texts/fragments were found in the Cairo Geniza, at Qumran and Masada, is significant. 2. Language- Hebrew, Greek, Syriac and Latin are relevant. 3. Form and composition—genres, composition—critical Redaction History of BS. 4. Situation and Tradition. 5. BS and pagan wisdom (Egyptian and Mesopotamian wisdom). 6. Themes of BS: 6.1 Conception of God and Theology; 6.2 Conception of humanity and ethics; 6.3 Understanding of wisdom; 6.4 Reception history of BS; 7. Outlook: Consensus and disagreement. According to Witte, there is more consensus in deuterocanonical studies than in Hebrew Bible research. However, one prominent disagreement is the question of how to write a commentary of the BS. A similar situation obtains in Septuagint studies. However, this latter situation has been addressed (see Büchner 2013 and Cook 2016).

Siegfried Kreuzer deals with the socio-cultural background to the BS. He addresses military and political aspects of Hellenism. The military issues seem to have little impact upon BS, for "*dass im Buch Jesus Sirach dieser kriegerische Aspekt m.W. nicht vorkommt. Für das Buch Jesus Sirach ist dagegen ein anderer Aspekt in hellenistischer Zeit sehr wichtig, nämlich die Bedeutung der Stadt zur Verbreitung und als Ort der Kultur*" (p. 39). The author describes the city culture and the role it plays in kingship. According to him, since the 5th century BCE, the governing

system he typifies as a democracy, but which is more related to an oligarchy, was the order of the day. The ruling body in the Greek cities is the Boulé, whereas in Jerusalem the Gerousia ruled. BS is influenced by Greek philosophical as well as by Jewish traditions. On kingship concerns the good king, derived from the names "Eumenes" and "Euergetes". According to the author, the center of the kingdom was the palace where the courts were situated and the royal family resided. A significant facet of royal life was the symposium, as depicted in the Book of Aristeeas. Finally Kreuzer finds remnants of religious temples in the court yards. An interesting interpretation is that most Greek cities were founded on the basis of military considerations and not in order to expand Greek culture. I think this is an oversimplification, since both factors were the order of the day. The relevance of the Hellenistic cities was true for Jewish cities like Jerusalem, Juda and Samaria. The influence of Hellenistic culture, such as the Gymnasium, becomes evident from the Maccabee books. Another Hellenistic institution; is the schooling system. Kreuzer finds evidence of such schooling in Jerusalem too (see Cook in Cook and Van der Kooij 2012:169). Other Hellenistic city influences are the never-ending feasts and other cultic phenomena. This includes the interpretation of the name Hierosylma as "the holy Solyma" (p.51). Towards the end of the paper the author discusses the introduction of the grandson. He finds evidence of Hellenistic literature, namely the praise lecture of Isokrates. I find little evidence of Jewish cultural institutions in this paper. This is perhaps to be understood, since the grandson worked and lived in Alexandria.

The title of *Otto Kaiser's* contribution "Jesus Sira: Ein Jüdischer Weisheitslehrer" seemingly brings Jewish aspects into play. However, the author finds ample evidence of the influence of Homer and Herodotus, etc., as well as evidence of pertinent biblical wisdom topoi that have Hellenistic roots. Examples are; 1. A positive relation to medical Doctors (Ben Sira 38 1-15); 2. The impact of Platos "Symposium" 1,12-32,13); 3. "Academic" travels (34,9-13); 4. Shame (4,21; 41,14-42,8) and 5. Friendship. The focus on friendship Kaiser interprets as a consequence of Hellenism. He, moreover, finds evidence of Stoicism in the following statements: 1. The identification of the *Weltvernunft* with the wisdom of God in the creation. 2. The Stoic *Lehre der Notwendigkeit alle Geschehens* and the problem of the responsibility of man according to Sira 15, 15-17. It is clear that the wisdom of Ben Sira is not exclusively "Hellenistic philosophy", hence he ends his paper with a quotation from Sira 1, 1-10: "*Alle Weisheit kommt vom Herrn und ist bei ihm in Ewigkeit*"....

In die "Konstruktion von Kultur im Sirachbuch" *Oda Wischmeyer* updates her previous research as follows: 1. By formulating relevant questions concerning her previous research; paradigms of the original author and today; reconstruction of the culture of BS; 2. Evaluate the dynamics of the change in the cultural concepts of BS; 3. Identifying how the Sirach research can pick up topics that connect with cultural scientific questions. Three aspects are of particular interest: a. translation and the transfer of culture. She stresses that in the BS Hebrew literature is produced under the influence of Greco-Roman literary activity; b. reception in deuterocanonical writings; c. authorship—according to the author BS is the first Jewish writer who saw himself as an independent author.

In a systematic paper *J-S Frey* deals with "Scribal practices in the Ben Sira Hebrew Manuscript A and Codicological Remarks". In the process he addresses

various issues: 1. Marginal corrections; 2. Corrective vocalizations; 3. Vocalization and accentuations; 4. Punctuation; 5. Ketiv and Qere; 6. Dating and Identification of the scribe. This latter point entails the paleographical dating of the script and the identification of the scribe.

James Aitken chose the topic "The Literary and Linguistic Subtlety of the Greek Version of Sirach". Scholars have different views on the Greek version of BS. H. St.-J. Thackeray finds the Greek "indifferent", while Benjamin G. Wright again established the high degree of consistency in the translation. To be sure, Aitken argues for "subtlety and elegance in the Greek that suggest an experienced translator". He also finds that for the most part the translator was consistent in segmentation and quantitative representation of elements in the Hebrew. Other aspects he identified in the Greek translation are: 1. Variation; 2. Prepositive enclitic pronouns; 3. Literary awareness; 4. Rhetorical features; 5. Attention to particles; 6. Word order. He refers to a number of studies he had completed in the past. His conclusions are enlightening: "Despite an appearance of a regular quantitative representation of the source, there is much variation and subtle modification".

A linguistic topic is addressed in *Knut Usener's* "Das Griechisch des Jesus Sirach". He asks two questions: 1. In welchem Gattungshorizont steht das LXX-Sirach-Buch?; 2. Wie sieht vor diesem Hintergrund seine sprachliche Gestaltung aus? He distinguishes between the prologue—in prose—that was added later and the main wisdom writing. According to the author, the wisdom literature found in the main text does not appear in the original Greek literature, but can be traced back to "Alte orientalische Textgattung". According to the author, in the pagan Greek literature the Wisdom literature does not create a unique *Gattungsform*. He does find evidence of *Lehrgedichten* and deems Hesiod as the first author of this kind of literature. He also mentions specific wisdom collections, e.g. by Epikurios and Menander. He also finds evidence of parallels in the BS. Under the heading "Sprachliche Gestaltung" Usener deals with both *Prolog und übersetzter Text*. The former had no Hebrew *Vorlage*. In the final analysis Usener concludes that BS is located in the Hebrew tradition, but has also been fundamentally influenced by the Hellenistic tradition.

Benjamin G. Wright dealt with BS: "Sirach 10:1-18: Some Observations on the Work of the Translator". The Greek text is covered for circa 70% by Hebrew *Vorlagen*. In order to recover the Hebrew texts, two approaches were followed. Firstly, text-critical proper research and, secondly, a study of the versions, especially the Greek and Syriac versions in order to reconstruct. The author demonstrates his text-critical competence by translating the first 18 verses of Sirach Chapter 18. Verse 2 contains an addition which Wright ascribes to the translator. He comes to the conclusion that the Hebrew and Greek texts as well as the Syriac and Latin texts represent different versions.

Jan Joosten focuses on the Syriac texts in "Language and Textual History of the Syriac Ben Sira". The riddle of the Syriac version of Ben Sira.

Joosten indicates that these texts are anomalous. Their origins are uncertain and their canonical status is also undecided. However, one thing is certain to Joosten, namely that only Jews knew enough Hebrew to translate into any language. The theological profile is also ambiguous. The midrashic interpretations, like the one in Gen 2 verse 2, where there is a reference to paradise, can only be from a Christian hand. A third anomaly is the language used in the translations. Joosten quotes a

number of Aramaic words unattested in Syriac but known from western, Targumic Aramaic. Joosten has various possible solutions for this situation, of which the suggestion that the mixed nature of the composition of the Syriac is the most probable. Accordingly, BS was translated from Hebrew into Targumic Aramaic in a Jewish context by a Jew. Later the Jewish writing was “Syriacised” by a Christian revisor. Joosten then skilfully applies this theory to some case studies. This hypothesis has historical implications. The use of a Hebrew source text and the insertion of references to the Syriac NT reflects these stages. I recall vividly how David Lane once said at a Peshitta conference in Leiden that there were good relations between the Church and the Synagogue during certain historical periods. He made the interesting analogy that when the Christian interpreter did not understand a certain Biblical passage, he would go to the Rabbi for help and *vica versa*.

Franz Bömisch titles his contribution “Die Vorlage der syrischen Sirachübersetzung und die gereimte hebräische Paraphrase zu Ben Sira aus der Ben-Ezra-Geniza”. The author quotes numerous scholars who have expressed an opinion on this issue. He also discusses various manuscripts and passages. He identifies numerous redactional signs in BS in Syriac. He also discusses “die gereimte hebräische Paraphrase zu Ben Sira aus der Ben-Ezra-Geniza”. In the final analysis he concludes that the *Vorlage* under discussion is a unique Hebrew recension that has been reworked by a later redactor.

“Einige hermeneutische Beobachtungen zur syrische Version des Sirach” is the title of *Burkart M. Zapff*’s paper. He accepts H.P. Rüger’s theory that the Syriac text is based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. He finds modifications motivated by poetic considerations, as well as contrasts. He moreover, identifies changes on account of semantics. Other categories are *Tendenzen zur Vereinheitlichung*; *Ergänzungen anhand des alttestamentlichen Bezugstextes*; *Opferkritische Tendenzen* and eschatological tendencies. His conclusions indicate that there does not exist an *Unterwelt* where no bemoaning takes place. In the final analysis he is adamant that the translators did not use older, Hebrew *Vorlagen*.

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert’s is entitled “Der lateinische Text des Ecclesiasticus: Von Philipp Thielmann bis zu Walter Thiele”. The author presents a diachronic overview of the research on this Latin version. The first era is 1895-1906. Donatien De Bruyne worked on the SB between 1928 and 1931. After him came R. Smend and then A. Di Lella. After 1935 M.H. Segal focused on the Hebrew versions. He concludes that the Hebrew versions were not a monolithic block. The next significant development, according to Bogaert, was the preparation of the critical edition of the Vulgate. The complexity of the Latin tradition of the SB is striking. It had implications for the publication of the LXX by Ziegler in 1965. The next significant phase is the creation of Concordances—Hebrew, Syriac and Latin. After that a new witness for Gr II that undergirds the Latin version, was studied by Otto Wahl. The next crucial research on the *Vetus Latina* was conducted by Thiel from 1987 to 2005. Next was lexical research on the Greek versions and finally the innovative research by Forte, Thiel’s successor, since 2014. Bogaert closes his paper by reminding the reader how complicated the transmission history of the Latin versions is.

“Plerique Codices, Nonnulli Codices: Ambrose’s Biblical Text: The Case of Ben Sirach and Canticum Canticorum” was presented by *Anthony J. Forte*. Ambrose was highly educated in biblical languages. In addition he was acquainted with Homer and Plato as well as other Greek authors. He had a special love for Latin. Forte

presented some texts from Canticum to demonstrate that Ambrose's endeavours to present a different text is the result of his exegetical interests. To be sure, some of Ambrose's translations are not literal, which could be the result of a differing Greek text. The situation with Ambrosius' text is different from that of Sira. The first are consistently short, whereas the latter is verbose and creatively rendered. The author ends off by reminding the reader that nothing was more important to Ambrose than the study of scripture.

Werner Urbanz presented the final paper, entitled "Sira 51, 1-12: Anhang oder Knotenpunkt?" The author accepts that the combination of wisdom and prayer is unique to Ben Sira. This text is found in the medieval ms B from the Cairo Geniza. The beginning of SirG 51,1-12d has a small superscription "the prayer of Jesus, the son of Sirach", moreover, the beginning and end of this ms are linked. Urbanz asks what value the structure of this passage has in the redaction history of SB. He concedes that many questions concerning the composition history of this passage are still open. He accepts that the passage has a significant role to play as final passage. Scholars expressed different opinions concerning the *Sitz im Leben* of this passage. Gilbert sees it as a prayer in a ceremony in the temple. Oda Wischmeyer finds evidence from the Levitical priestly postexilic period. Smend again thinks a great part of the book is in fact made up of oral expressions. Smend also speculates that the book is related to a need in the life of Ben Sira. Finally, a number of *Stichproben* are formulated: 1. I want to praise you; 2. *Sir 51,2a und die verschiedene Exodusbezüge*; 3. The prayer vocabulary as relation with other parts of the book. In conclusion, Urbanz states that the passage under discussion is more than just a loose part of the book. According to him, it is part and parcel of the SB, as far as form, content and pragmatics are concerned.

The proceedings of the conference that took place in 2014 at the Catholic University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt contains important research on the SB. Fortunately this publication makes these insights available to researchers in general.

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JOHANN COOK
University of Stellenbosch
Stellenbosch, South Africa
cook@sun.ac.za

James W. BARKER, Anthony LeDONNE, and Joel N. LOHR (eds.), *Found in Translation: Essays on Jewish Biblical Translation in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon*, West Lafayette, IN, Purdue University Press 2018, 317 pp., ISBN: 9781612494975.

The title of this *Festschrift* expresses the positive counter-part to the movie title “Lost in Translation”. It presents 12 interesting contributions with insights that, thanks to the careful work of the contributors, can be “found in translation”.

The book opens with two rather personal contributions on Leonard Greenspoon, a Jewish scholar who for many years worked at Clemson University before moving in 1996 to Creighton University. The foreword by Jonathan Rosenbaum is followed by an interview by Joel N. Lohr with Leonard Greenspoon, that brings out interesting aspects of his career, his teaching and his research interests, while also recounting a number of personal reflections on the honoree. L.G. has for many years been teaching at the University, and at the same time has had a regular column in a newspaper, where he vividly engages with questions of faith and of living in today’s world. Regarding the Septuagint, he is well known for his contributions, as a member of the first generation of IOSCS, and as organizer of many of its meetings. The introduction is concluded by a bibliography of the honoree. In line with his main interests, the book contains a first part with articles on questions of textual history of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the bible, and a second part that could be subsumed under the theme of reception history. The first part comprises the following papers:

Emanuel Tov, “‘Proto-Masoretic,’ ‘Pre-Masoretic,’ ‘Semi-Masoretic,’ and ‘Masoretic’: A Study in Terminology and Textual Theory” (32-52). The history of these terms “is more complicated than one would think at first thought ... the least problematic is the use of the base term ‘Masoretic Text’”. In the following presentation, Tov differentiates between “terminology before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls” and “terminology after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls” (32). Basically, the contribution comes down to a characterization of the different types of biblical scrolls from Qumran (completed by appendices with tables on the important scrolls for the different text types).—Michael N. van der Meer, “Symmachus’s Version of Joshua” (53-93) presents all the Symmachus readings of Joshua, a book for which both Greenspoon and van der Meer are specialists.—Kristin de Troyer, “The Final Verses of the Ammonite War Story in 2 Sam 11:1, 12,26-31, and 1 Chron 20:1-3” (95-111). While usually the verses in 1 Chron are considered to be dependent on 2 Sam, de Troyer suggests “a different relationship between the two texts: the ending of the Ammonite war story in 2 Samuel is dependent on 1 Chronicles” (53).—Eugene Ulrich, “The Old Greek Translation of Isaiah 40” (113-126) analyses the agreements and the different types of differences between the Hebrew and Greek text of this important chapter. There are individual variants, often confused letters, single translations of parallel readings, different understandings of the Hebrew Vorlage, free translations and theological translations. Among other points he also offers some “Alternate proposals for Ziegler’s critical edition” (115f.). “The examples discussed coalesce with the character of the translation visible in the remainder of the book. It is a faithful, if at times somewhat free, translation of what the translator saw, or thought he saw, in his Hebrew source. ... the OG agrees now with the MT, now with 1QIsa^a, now with neither. That indicates—as we

should suspect in light of the many variants in the other twenty Qumran Isaiah scrolls—that the Hebrew used by the translator, though mostly similar to those preserved manuscripts, differed somewhat from them.” (123) The translator keeps with the emphasis on salvation that permeates the whole book, but ch. 40 of Isaiah “presents no sign of intentional theological innovation by the Septuagint translator (125).—James W. Barker, “The Equivalence of *Kaige* and *Quinta* in the Dodekapropheton” (127-152) deliberates the question that originated with Barthélemy’s identification of the *kaige*-recension. He especially compares and analyses “Justin Martyr’s Use of *kaige*” (129-139). Contrary to George Howard he maintains with Barthélemy that *kaige* and *Quinta* are the same at least for Dodekapropheton: “I validate Barthélemy’s argument for their equivalence in the Minor Prophets as the surest hypothesis” (146).

The second part of the Festschrift bears the title “Jewish and Christian Scriptures in modern translations”. However, they not only refer to translations but also to reception in a wider sense. There are the following papers: Ronald Hendel, “The Exodus in America” (155-178)—Edward L. Greenstein, “Challenges in Translating the Book of Job” (179-199)—Adele Berlin, “On Translating Proverbs 31:10” (201-208)—Zev Garber, “Lost in Transmission, God: Shoah, Not Holocaust” (209-226)—Alan T. Levenson, “Translation versus Teaching: Competing Agends in Samson Raphael Hirsch’s Bible Project” (227-241)—Anthony Le Donne, “Translating Policentrism: The Politics of Ethnicity and *Ethnos* related to Defining *Ioudaios*” (243-265)—Amy-Jill Levine, “Proclamation, Translation, Implication: Addressing the Vilification of “the Jews” (267-289).—The volume is completed by a subject index (291-303).

All together, the volume is a worthy tribute to an inspiring scholar and teacher who has contributed not only but especially to Septuagint scholarship and its organization. Congratulations and *ad multos annos*!

SIEGFRIED KREUZER
Prof. em. at Protestant University
Wuppertal, Germany
kreuzer@kiho-wb.de

Brent NONGBRI, *God’s Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts*. New Haven and London 2018. ISBN 978-0-300-21541-0

In den letzten Jahrzehnten vollzieht sich eine Art „material turn“ in der Beschäftigung mit alten Handschriften, und das nicht nur in der Theologie, sondern ebenso in Altertums- und Geschichtswissenschaften, Papyrologie und Museologie. Die christlichen Handschriften der Antike (und natürlich auch der Nachantike) werden—heißt das—gezielt auch als Gegenstände der Archäologie betrachtet.

Überschätzen wir den Einschnitt nicht. Auch früher waren Sammler und Sammlungen an der Herkunft der Objekte interessiert, die sie erwarben. Doch war diese Herkunft selten aufklärbar und entschied der Text auf den erworbenen Dokumenten

deren Bedeutung; Fragen nach dem Textträger und dessen archäologischem Kontext hatten sich dem unterzuordnen.

Der „material turn“ begegnet darum im biblischen Bereich einer komplexen Ausgangssituation. Er befasst sich mit Objekten, die seit ihrer Entdeckung bzw. Erstveröffentlichung intensiv und oft medienwirksam (in der Presse, später auch Rundfunk und Fernsehen) beforscht und diskutiert wurden, und zu denen doch archäologisch weniger bekannt ist als man wünschen würde.

Brent Nongbri legt nun eine hervorragend geschriebene Einleitung zu den christlichen Handschriften der Antike vor (ein „critical introductory book“; 20), die den Finger in diese Wunde legt. Er konzentriert sich auf die Handschriften als archäologische Artefakte (vgl. 11), fasst den entsprechenden Wissenstand zusammen und deckt die über die Jahrhunderte gewachsenen Wissenslücken kritisch auf.

Da die Käufe von Papyri im 19. und frühen 20. Jh. und selbst manche Ausgrabungen des 20. Jh. weniger als erforderlich auf die archäologischen Umstände achteten (noch bis zum Fund des Mudil-Psalters 1984 sind archäologische Dokumentationen unvollständig), erhält Nongbri's Studie einen aufklärerischen Impetus. Sie mutet in vielen Passagen wie eine erforderliche Problemanzeige an.

Nongbri baut seinen Band klar und eingängig auf. Er gewinnt das Interesse der Leser*innen im „Prologue“ mit dem Bericht über einen alten Sensationsfund, die Erwerbungen Freer's (heute Washington; Kap. 1, S. 1-10). Dann stellt er den allmählichen Wandel von der Rolle zum Codex zwischen dem 1. und dem 4. Jh. und den Aufbau eines Codex dar (Kapitel 1; 21-46). Schließlich erörtert er in diesem Eingangsteil das gravierendste Problem, das sich der Forschung bei allen Quellen stellt: die Datierungsfrage (Kapitel 2; 47-82).

Seine Überschrift für dieses Kapitel, „The Dating Game“, provoziert bewusst; denn der Wunsch, möglichst frühe Texte zu finden, führte nach Nongbri zu einer Tendenz früher Datierungen, die kritisch zu hinterfragen ist. Um darüber hinauszukommen, summiert Nongbri die Kriterien der Paläographie (Schrifttypen, die Schrift begleitende Merkmale, Vergleich mit datierten Exemplaren ähnlicher Schrift etc.); sie sind hilfreich, verlangen jedoch einen erheblichen Spielraum (eher 100 als 25 Jahre). Die Radiokarbon-Methode führt nur begrenzt weiter; sie verschleißt handschriftliches Material (in jüngerer Zeit weniger als früher), fordert ihrerseits zeitliche Spielräume und ist oft durch Verunreinigungen beeinträchtigt. Eine Tintenanalyse schließlich hilft, soweit Inhaltsstoffe der Tinte betroffen sind; die jedoch waren über längere Zeiträume in Gebrauch. Wer vorsichtig sein will, wird darum Nongbri zufolge häufig lediglich terminus post quem und ante quem sowie eine recht offene Entstehungsphase dazwischen angeben können.

Die Mitte des Bandes schafft eine Übersicht über die Handschriftenfunde (eröffnend Kap. 3; 81-115). Die seit alters bekannten großen Handschriften (A, B oder—was die Septuaginta angeht—die Cotton Genesis) sind dabei schon so lange in Europa, dass Nongbri zwar einiges zu ihrer Geschichte erzählt (z.B. den Brand in London, der die Cotton Genesis stark beschädigte; 83), sie aber in seiner Erörterung zurückstellt. Dasselbe gilt für α (86); d.h. Nongbri konzentriert seine Erörterung auf die Handschriften, die 1850 mit räumlichem Schwerpunkt in Ägypten bekannt wurden.

Soweit das heute noch feststellbar ist, wurden Schriften gelegentlich Toten ins Grab mitgegeben. Das ist selten präzise nachweisbar, setzt aber einen vorchristlichen Brauch von Schriften als Grabbeigaben anverwandelt fort. Galten heilige Schriften—unter ihnen Psalter und Dtn—also bei manchen Christen und Christinnen als

unterstützendes Geleit für die Toten? Ein solcher Zweck der Grabbeigabe scheint mir über Nongbri hinaus der Betrachtung wert (Nongbri begnügt sich 91-98 mit der kritischen Feststellung des Befundes).

Andere wichtige Fundkontexte bilden Höhlen (Handschriften wurden in Krisensituationen versteckt; ein Beispiel Nongbris wäre Tura, 98f), Gebäude und Wohnbereiche (dort wurden manchmal auch außer Gebrauch gekommene Handschriften aufbewahrt; 100-106 mit einem Beispiel manichäischer Handschriften). Klöster (106-108) und Müllablagen (am berühmtesten für Oxyrhynchus; 219-228) kommen hinzu. Viele herausragende Corpora sind nicht eindeutig zuzuordnen (so auch die Nag Hammadi Codices; 108-115).

Eigene Kapitel Nongbris gelten den bedeutendsten Sammlungen, die im 20. Jh. entstanden:

- den Beatty Biblical Papyri (Kap. 4; 116-156), zu deren ursprünglichem Fundbestand auch die griechischen Manuskripte von Lev und Jos gehört haben dürften, die in die Schøyen Collection eingingen (Übersicht über die Sammlung 132-135);
- den Bodmer Papyri (Kap. 5; 157-215), die—teils griechisch, teils koptisch, manchmal Latein—biblische und nichtbiblische Schriften enthalten (Übersicht und Angabe der offenen Teile des ursprünglichen Fundbestandes 170-185) und deren Gros nach Nongbris Untersuchung im 4.-5. Jh. entstand (eine mutige Eingrenzung im herkömmlich größeren Raum vom 2.-6. Jh.; 207);
- sowie den Oxyrhynchus Papyri, deren Edition noch im Gang ist (Kap. 6; 216-246); Schriften Israels in Griechisch (Septuaginta) oder Latein (insgesamt 26 items) sind dort im Vergleich zu Evangelien und neutestamentlichen Briefen (42 + 23 items) relativ selten vertreten (231f; zu Genesis etwa wurden 4 Stücke gefunden, allein zum Mt dagegen schon 15).

Stets sind Nongbri Problemanzeigen wichtig. Eine der spannendsten ist die Frage, ob sich im Kontext der Funde ursprünglich auch dokumentarische Papyri fanden, die nicht nur am Gegenstand, sondern auch an der anderen Schrift—in der Regel einer Kursive; vgl. 57—leicht erkennbar gewesen wären, aber nicht auf gleiches Sammelinteresse stießen und daher aus dem Fundbestand gelöst wurden (vgl. bes. 213). Je nachdem sähe ein persönliches oder Klosterarchiv (wie es etwa für den Kern der Bodmerpapyri vermutet wird) sehr unterschiedlich aus.

Für Oxyrhynchus lässt sich der Fundbestand insgesamt in etwa (nämlich soweit keine Papyri während der Ausgrabungen verschwanden) sichern, stellt sich jedoch eine andere Frage: Was bedeutet es, dass Schriften aus dem heutigen Alten und Neuem Testament in den Abfall gegeben wurden (246)? Nongbri lässt die Antwort auf diese Frage offen; wer überlegt, dass jüdische Schriften später vor dem Müll bewahrt wurden, um den Namen Gottes zu schützen, mag überlegen, ob dieser Brauch schon in der Spätantike begann und die relativ geringe Zahl von Septuagintafragmenten in Oxyrhynchus erklärt.

Kehren wir schließlich zur Datierungsfrage zurück. Auch und gerade die berühmtesten Stücke der Sammlungen wurden nach Nongbri (und kritischer Paläographie, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten viele Impulse aus Italien erfuhr) unter Umständen zu früh datiert. Unter den Chester Beatty Papyri betrifft dies nicht zuletzt Codex V zu Gen und Codex VI zu Num-Dtn (früher oft als 2. Jh. geltend, jetzt 3. Jh. [Num-Dtn] oder 3./4. Jh. [Gen]; Nongbri 145-150), unter den Bodmer Papyri Codex XXIV (Psalmen; herkömmlich 2.Jh., jetzt frühestens 1. Hälfte 3. Jh.; Nongbri 202 und 334

Anm. 95). Der Codex zu Ez-Dan-Est (P. Chester Beatty IX + X.) von dem sich Teile in Köln befinden (Ra. 967) fällt nach Nongbri noch relativ konventionell in die Zeit vom Ende des 2. bis zum 3. Jh. (128f, 132f, 151f).

Kap. 7 (247-268) rundet die Beobachtungen durch ein Fallbeispiel aus dem neutestamentlichen Bereich, nämlich die aufklärerisch-kritische Analyse von Fragmenten ab, die einst auf den Einband eines Philocodex zurückgeführt wurden (p⁴, p⁶⁴ und p⁶⁷). Müßig ist zu sagen, dass Nongbri Scheinsensationen stets kritisch hinterfragt (253f und 269f zu angeblichen neutestamentlichen Funden jüngster Zeit) und weitere Fortschritte materialer Untersuchung sowie Anregungen durch Digitalisierungen erhofft (Schlusswort 271).

Sofort nach Erscheinen des Bandes entbrannte die Diskussion um die von Nongbri am drängendsten aufgeworfenen Datierungsfragen. Sie konzentriert sich bislang auf die neutestamentlichen Papyri (namentlich p⁶⁶ = Bodmer II, p⁷⁵ = Bodmer XIV-XV). Das verdankt sich nicht nur der größeren Bekanntheit der Quellenfunde zum Neuen Testament, sondern einer alten Abgrenzung in der Forschung, der auch Nongbri nicht ganz entgeht: Zum Forschungswandel der letzten Jahrzehnte gehört an sich die Aufhebung der Grenze zwischen Altem und Neuem Testament in den Handschriftenfunden (12); denn die Terminologie Altes/Neues Testament entstand jenseits der Handschriften (19) und wurde in die Handschriften, die heute biblisch, neu- oder alttestamentlich genannt werden, lange Zeit nicht eingetragen. Dennoch sind Forscher herkömmlich spezialisiert. Nongbri macht da keine Ausnahme. Er steht der neutestamentlichen Perspektive etwas näher; entsprechend hilft er den Leser*innen, die besprochenen Papyri und die Angaben in den heutigen Editionen nach Gregory-Aland-Nummern (p¹ usw.) abzugleichen (397f). Die Rahlfs-Fränkels-Nummern zu den die Septuaginta betreffenden Quellen gibt er dagegen nicht an (A. Rahlfs, Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments I.1 Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert, bearb. V. D. Fraenkel, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck 2004 erscheint auch in seiner Bibliographie nicht).

Dankenswerterweise gibt Nongbri zu den Handschriften die Nummern aus der Leuven Database of Ancient Books an (LADB, <https://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>), die auch die Quellen zur Septuaginta listet; z.B. findet sich—um zu Nongbris Prolegomena zurückzukehren—unter LADB 62061 Literatur zu den Psalmen aus der Freer-Collection (Ra. 1219), die die alten Herkunftsangaben korrigiert (nach heutiger Kenntnis wahrscheinlich wäre Dime / Fayyum, doch selbst zu diesem Herkunftsort gibt es Bedenken; vgl. Nongbri 8f). Zum erwähnten Josuabuch ist soeben K. De Troyer, *The Ultimate and the Penultimate Text of the Book of Joshua*, *Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology* 100 (Peeters: Leuven, 2018) erschienen.

Die Paläographie erfährt derzeit einen neuen Impuls durch P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books*, *Studies in Manuscript Cultures* 15 (Berlin: de Gruyter 2018). Die Spezialforschung wird sich also fortsetzen. Sie kann für die Nachantike, mit der Nongbri sich nicht befasst, E. Gamillscheg / D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 3 Teile 1981/1987/1997) benutzen. Nongbri wird für etwaige Korrekturen stets offen sein, auch wenn diese womöglich frühere Datierungen bestätigen, die er vorläufig in Zweifel zieht (er erlaubt für viele herkömmlich frühe Datierungen ein zweifelndes „may be“).

Die große Stärke der besprochenen Arbeit ist damit genannt. Nongbri bietet einen Überblick über die großen Papyrussammlungen und die archäologischen Funde, auf

die sich diese Sammlungen stützen, und er deckt Erkenntnisgrenzen sowie viele offene Fragen auf, deren Bearbeitung ansteht. Seine Studie ist für die Septuagintaforschung als Einführung in die archäologischen Kontexte ihrer Quellen vorzüglich relevant; doch die Spezialuntersuchung der einzelnen Handschrift muss fachspezifisch erfolgen.

MARTIN KARRER
Neues Testament,
Protestant University Wuppertal/Bethel
Wuppertal, Deutschland
karrer@kiho-wb.de